BUT WHAT ABOUT US?

Ike tells the Union he's fine

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER started his last year in office with an optimistic peace and prosperity message to Congress on the State of the Union. He made it clear that peace is his main concern in 1960, and he told Congress prosperity is a solid fact and nothing should be done to interfere with it.

What won most headlines was the surprise announcement (it was not in the advance text) of a $4.2 billion surplus in the Federal budget for the next fiscal year. Democrats cast doubts on the forecast. The **Wall Street Journal** (Jan. 8) was worried lest the surplus open a "Pandora's Box" of pressure for more government spending and tax cuts. But Democratic leaders Speaker Sam Rayburn and Ways and Means Committee chairman Wilbur D. Mills immediately eased these fears by vetoing any tax cut drive.

The President was in a jaunty, confident mood and appeared healthy. Obviously he feels he can advance his place in history by furthering the thaw in the cold war. Evidently his discussions with Khrushchev and his recent trip give him an optimistic feeling on this score. In this mood this is what he said:

PEACE: Nearly two-thirds of the President's message dealt with foreign affairs. He stated his determination "that the United States shall become an ever-more potent resource for the cause of peace." He said: "Mankind approaches a state where mutual annihilation becomes a possibility. No other fact of today's world equals this in importance . . . We must strive to break the calamitous cycle of frustrations and crises, which, if unchecked, could spiral into nuclear disaster, the ultimate insanity."

The President reported the expressed interest of the Soviet Union "in measures to reduce the common peril of war" and noted "the possible opening of a somewhat less strained period in the relationships between the Soviet Union and the free world." In seeking international peace agreements, he said, "we must find some place to begin" and added that an obvious place to start is "in the widening of communications between our two peoples. In this field there are, both sides willing, countless opportunities . . . ."

Herblock in Washington Post

"Don't worry. We're keping a firm hand on the till."

But this clear language of peace was hedged by the President—enough to permit columnist David Lawrence to write that the most striking feature of the message was "the expression of a manifest distrust of the Soviet Union." The President did qualify his greeting of Soviet

(Continued on Page 10)

Giles, London Daily Express

"Don't blame the German people—it's only the irresponsible few."

(See Report to Readers, p. 2)

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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THE NEWHOUSE GLAMOR TARNISHES

All Portland labor unites behind a newspaper strike

By Lawrence Emery

SAMUEL IRVING NEWHOUSE ("Mr. S. I.") has a passion for owning newspapers—"I like the glamor." He now owns or controls 14 dailies, making his the third largest newspaper chain in the country. He also controls nine TV and radio stations and the publishing houses of Condé Nast and Street & Smith which between them put out ten magazines and two annuals.

He also has a passion for making his properties pay—by reducing expenses, eliminating jobs, bucking the unions (these policies early last year provoked a costly 99-day strike against his St. Louis **Globe-Democrat** which the Newspaper Guild won). As an extra hedge to his investments, he likes to eliminate risk by buying up competing papers in the same city.

ONE PHONE CALL: By last week his combined passions may have overreached themselves: a bitter strike, now entering its third month, against his Portland (Ore.) morning **Oregonian** had not only united Portland labor as it has seldom been united before, but had set most of the city on fire with the notion of a labor-financed but independent paper to be known as the Portland **Daily News.**

Newhouse bought the **Oregonian** in 1955, after one phone call, and proceeded to run it, as he runs all his enterprises, by remote control; he lives in a 14-room Park Ave. duplex apartment in New York City. By late last year his attitude toward labor had all the unions in his plant jumpy and most of them were ready to strike as their contracts expired. But the tiny 54-member Stereotypers' Local No. 48 was first and walked out last Nov. 10 after management balked at all demands and refused a union proposal for a four-man crew on a new German-made automatic press plate casting machine designed for one-man operation.

SECOND PAPER SHUTS: The stereotypers were promptly joined by typographical workers, mailers, Newspaper Guild members (18 have since straggled back to work), web pressmen, paper handlers, photo-engravers, electrical workers, machinists, building service employes and operating engineers. Teamsters refused to cross the picket line (truck firm executives themselves delivered paper to the plant). When the rival evening **Journal,** Portland's only other paper, refused to negotiate separately, it was shut down, too.

The managements of both papers join-

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TELLER'S 'BIG HOLE'

Rockets put A-ban talks in spotlight

By Kumar Goshal

WHETHER by plan or coincidence, both Washington and Moscow put rockets on the front page Jan. 7-8, just four days before they resumed negotiations on nuclear test suspension at Geneva.

In his State of the Union message President Eisenhower said the U.S. had fired 15 intercontinental ballistic missiles 5,000 miles with great accuracy. He admitted that the U.S. space program was "deficient" but said that space exploration "is often mistakenly supposed to be an integral part of defense;" in any case, he would boost next year's space program appropriation.

MOSCOW ON THE WIRE: Less than five hours after the President spoke, Moscow announced that, in order "to develop a more powerful rocket to launch heavy earth satellites and undertake space flights to planets of the solar system," Soviet scientists would fire a series of rockets—without the last stage—over a long range into the Central Pacific. The purpose would be to test the accuracy of the rocket's flight. The first launchings would be between Jan. 15 and Feb. 15.

The announcement asked that all ships and planes keep out of the area where parts of the rockets were expected to fall. The designated area was about 1,000 miles east of the Marshall Islands. Moscow said it had chosen the area because ships and planes passed it infrequently. After each test, Soviet ships would cruise the area to "make necessary measurements."

A MAN INTO SPACE? Reaction in the U.S. was at first mild and speculative but later became worried. Some believed the Soviet Union would send a man into space during the Pacific tests. Many American space scientists, however, accepted the announcement on its face value and agreed with Soviet Prof. Dobronravov that the tests would be "purely in the interest of science and space."

At first also no one questioned Moscow's legal right to the Pacific tests. The New York Times reported (Jan. 8) that

(Continued on Page 8)

THE MAIL BAG

The Year of the Leap

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Here's $200 to help make 1960 the year of the GUARDIAN's Big Leap. Anyone else join me in making this Leap Year the biggest forward move in the history of our invaluable paper?

Mildred Kaufman

Where there's hope

NEW YORK, N.Y.

It is time that progressives made up their minds to support an independent candidacy for President advocating (1) the six-hour day as an answer to automation; (2) retirement at 60; (3) end foreign bases, outlaw nuclear tests, serious work towards disarmament.

The Democrats and Republicans offer no hope.

John C. Grate

Doggerel

TIOGA, PA.

If they must have Nixon,
I nominate,
His doggie, Checkers,
as running mate.

Maurice Becker

Foreign Born Committee

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The 27th Annual Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, while seriously handicapped in its preparatory stages by the illness and death of its able executive secretary, Abner Green, was nevertheless well attended.

It decided without question that the ACPFB must continue and deepen its role as a national center of education and action in all matters affecting the foreign born and regional defense committees. Well over 100 delegates passed important key resolutions, adopted a 1960 Program of Action and agreed to fulfill a budget for the current year's intensified educational, legislative, public relations and legislative activities of the ACPFB, as an indispensable service to all local committees and supporting groups.

It also re-elected all honorary and co-chairmen and—pending the finding of a successor to Abner Green—elected a Continuations Committee consisting of Rose Chernin of Los Angeles, Stanley Nowak of Detroit and other regional representatives, with Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith and Harry Carlisle as co-chairmen.

The 1960 Program of Action, derived from the resolutions, the various conference reports and discussion from the floor, is geared to expanded ACPFB and local defense committee action during the Presidential election year.

It is most urgent that all friends of the Committee—which was grievously handicapped in function and money by the crisis arising out of Abner Green's death—now rally with determination and generosity to carry out the mandate of the 27th Annual Conference. Your donation, large or small, is desperately needed. Address: 49 E. 21st St., New York 10, N.Y.

Louise P. Smith
Harry Carlisle

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5 (UP) — Senator Wallace F. Bennett, Utah Republican, today criticized the motion picture "On the Beach" as being "completely unrealistic" and "distorted."

Mr. Bennett, a member of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, said the film portrayed a situation "in which nuclear war has so contaminated the atmosphere that all mankind is being gradually wiped out by fall-out." . . .

The Senator said the Atomic Energy Committee hearings last summer "clearly demonstrated" there would be many survivors even in a country subjected to heavy nuclear attack.

—N.Y. **Times**, 1/6/60

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: E. E., Manhattan, N.Y.

Watch out, Henry!

NASSAU, BAHAMAS

How dared you reprint that scurrilous cartoon about women drivers (p. 2, Jan. 4)?

Women drivers are no different from male drivers. My own wife, who is charming, gracious and considerate in other matters, behind the wheel is a fiend incarnate. Like her male counterpart she is vituperative, impatient and predacious. Her remarks about other drivers and traffic conditions, while unseemly to the ears of her 2½-year-old grandson, are cogent and forceful. Her blasts on the horn when the light changes to green makes even cabbies leap into motion. She tails cars at 60 miles per hour and passes them so close that a hair's breadth separates the fenders. But she has never had an accident or got a ticket—even for parking.

Although in the flesh I am in the Burning Bahamas, my spirit is with those freezing women who, I hope, are picketing your premises with signs reading: "The GUARDIAN is unsound on the woman question."

Henry Abrams

'On the Beach'

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In James Aronson's Spectator (Dec. 28) you favor me with comment on my review for the **New Republic** of Stanley Kramer's **On The Beach.** That we esteem the picture differently is, of course, no matter for argument, even though you isolate a number of my phrases to justify your complaint that I "peck" at the film.

But then, after quoting my comments about Kramer's commercial hedging—which I supposed to be a criticism of his weakening of the picture's impact—you quote from my review: "Perhaps in his caution too, he is like the rest of us. We don't want destruction, but we don't want to lose anything in order to prevent it."

You cite this passage to prove that I am in favor of the tension-ridden status quo! If my no-doubt feeble irony about our present complacency escaped you, you could hardly have missed the next sentence: "So, in the end, this film is more of a microcosm of our parlous state than it intended to be." Nor could you have missed the first paragraph of the review: "Indeed [H. G. Wells] did tell us, and since then there have been many others, their number increased by the atomic atmosphere, to point out that our present road leads to the abyss. Still we cling to the road, fenced in principally by stupid pride and proud stupidity. 'Better death than dishonor,' the maiden used to proclaim in old plays, but it was her death or her dishonor. If she jumped out the window, she didn't take nine-tenths of the human race with her."

Does that really sound to you like a statement by someone who is satisfied with things as they are? Perhaps in your eagerness to attack anyone who criticizes this film you admire, you decided to disregard that passage and concentrate on a few lines which could be given an unintended light.

I won't dwell on the fact that you suggest I speak for myself only and, in the very next sentence, say that you hope you speak for hundreds of millions. I suggest only that your admirable zeal may have carried you to the point where you swing at friend and foe alike and that, in any event, this zeal is hardly an excuse for arrant distortion.

Stanley Kauffmann

Wall Street Journal

"The Dow Jones average must still be down. I've poured a lot of doubles, too."

Some stand firm

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Congratulations on Russ Nixon's review of **Advise & Consent** (Jan. 4), which is easily one of the most insidious books of our time. All the slickest technique, the smoothest propaganda gimmicks are used to distort and twist the truth here—and not just political truths, either. The slimiest part is the way it infers that there are no honest men anywhere in existence anymore—that everyone can be bought, or if not actually made to sell out, can be sorely tempted and detoured from moral action.

Every character in the book becomes smeared and shamed; nowhere is there found a person of integrity, optimism, faith, courage or intellect free from Machiavellian scheming. The author's curious lack of moral vision turns his work into a piece of putrescence. And yet, it reflects the same kind of moral flabbiness which we see evidenced about—whether in a Van Doren or **The Shame of New York.**

But as long as a few people can stand shivering but firm outside the gate at Ft. Detrick, Md., continuing the vigil protesting germ weapons—as long as Uphaus and others can stand firm upon the dignity and rights of man—as long as a musical as idealistic and heartwarming as **Fiorello!** can become a popular hit—well, we know the world isn't lost yet.

Jeanne S. Bagby

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

This is the way to do it

NEW YORK, N.Y.

It's easy—if the person you talk to hasn't as yet a subscription to the GUARDIAN. The little Angel appealed so deeply that I was moved to put five subscription blanks in my pocket for trial purposes.

The butcher bought one; the doctor's nurse said Yes and gave me a buck; the salesman at the toy store said: "Why, sure, here's a dollar." The shoemaker—well, you know by now—came across. So while doing my daily chores I unearthed four new GUARDIAN readers.

I have many more stops to make before the day is out. Maybe it was beginner's luck. But, as you can plainly see, I haven't as yet asked any of my friends, relatives or near or distant acquaintances. This I will do, and the four will multiply and multiply.

Enclosed the money and the names of subscribers. Up the GUARDIAN!

—**Letter from " A Housewife" in the GUARDIAN, Jan. 16, 1950**

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Vol. 12, No. 14 401 January 18, 1960

REPORT TO READERS

The festering sore

WE ARE, AFTER ALL, a sovereign state, said the West German cabinet minister to the New York **Herald Tribune's** Gaston Coblentz. He was speaking of the World Jewish Congress' proposing to the Bonn government a program to combat and wipe out the ugly manifestations of anti-Semitism in Adenauer's Germany.

The open hostility to the WJC's program by the Bonn government has good reason: if the de-nazification plan were applied the government would have to be replaced almost top to bottom. These are some of the things we know about this government:

- Adenauer's Secretary of State, Dr. Hans Globke, wrote the official legal commentary to the Nuremberg Laws, the basis for the extermination of 6,000,000 Jews by the Nazis. The Secretary of State is the highest civil servant in West Germany.
- At least two Cabinet ministers—Refugee Minister Oberlaender and Interior Minister Schroeder—have bloody records of service with the Storm Troops and the SS. They combined recently to seek a legal ban on the Association of Nazi Persecutees (VVN), the leading organization protecting the rights of Nazi victims, and to bring to trial seven members of the West German Peace Committee in Duesseldorf. The crime: anti-fascist peace activities.
- Of the 138 top officers of the new Germany army, 138 held top jobs in the Hitler army.
- West Germany's ambassador to the U.S., Dr. Wilhelm Grewe, became a Nazi in 1928, was a teacher of the Hitler Youth and a member of the Nazi Jurists' Association.

THE LIST COULD GO ON AND ON. It could note that Chancellor Adenauer, a crusty reactionary who stood aloof from the Nazis because he found them crude, greeted with effusive warmth on his 75th birthday Friedrich Flick, Germany's No. 2 industrialist, who was found guilty at Nuremberg of the most enormous crimes involving slave labor and extermination. It could note that even as 22 persons were being arrested for neo-Nazi manifestations, 80 others were being arrested for anti-Nazi activities.

It could note that 1,000 Nazis sit on the judicial benches; that the police bureaus are crawling with the worst Gestapo and SS types; that 50,000 German young people are members of the National German Youth Movement, that they engage secretly in uniformed military exercises and listen to lectures out of **Mein Kampf.** It could note that Hungarian Nazis, condemned to death in their own country, not only find refuge but publish virulently anti-Semitic newspapers in West Germany.

And it could note that in the new German democracy which finds the Nazi Reich Party a legal and respectable entity, the Communist Party is and has been outlawed since 1956.

THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE WEST KNEW that all these things were happening when the Bonn government was taken into NATO as an equal partner to preserve the Western way of life as we know it. It not only knew these things but encouraged them. It happened before and it is happening again: The responsibility for the revival of fascism in West Germany today lies mainly with the leadership in Washington, London and Paris. It could not have happened without their consent.

The leaders of West Germany, from Adenauer down, have no intention of firing themselves. They don't give a damn about the Jews—dead or alive. They will do their best to silence all real political opponents. And as soon as they feel their strength, they will turn snarling on their Western allies—as they did before.

The Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe know that when you revive German militarism you revive German fascism. That is why Premier Khrushchev and his allies remain uncompromising on the German question.

WHAT ALL OF US SHOULD KNOW is that what has happened in Germany is not merely an anti-Semitic manifestation: it is anti-human. "You will see," Hitler confided to his friend Rauschning, "how little time we shall need in order to upset the ideas and the criteria of the whole world, simply and purely by attacking the Jews." And, it could be added, by making the world believe that it was no more than an attack on the Jews.

The poison of prejudice—and the use to which it is put by cunning men—is deep in Germany and elsewhere. There is still hope when 10,000 young Germans can march in protest in West Berlin and are joined by 35,000 others. But they will succeed only if the conscience of the world marches with them.

—THE GUARDIAN

EVERYBODY BUT THE STRIKERS GOT THE CREDIT

How Richard Nixon made political hay from the steel strike

A NEW YORK manufacturer last week began production of a campaign button marked, "Nixon: Man of Steel." The emblem is a just trophy for the real winner in the steel dispute: Vice President Richard M. Nixon. For his part in ending the eight-month conflict Jan. 4, he won: (1) a public image as a "statesman," commanding respect from management and labor; (2) an opportunity to wage his Presidential campaign without a major strike in the country, and (3) an assurance that steel prices won't go up until after the election.

But Nixon's real role in the settlement was mostly ceremonial. By the time agreement was reached, the steel companies were boxed in and needed a third party to let them out.

If Nixon deserves any credit, it is for helping to work out an ingenious agreement in which everyone seems to have won. The AFL-CIO United Steel Workers came out of the dispute a strong organization, which beat back Big Business' current offensive to control work rules and eliminate jobs.

BOOST FOR McDONALD: Union president David J. McDonald was far from popular with his membership when the strike began. Now he is a hero in the union.

Labor generally can also take heart from the settlement. A railroad strike, which seemed certain for next spring, now appears less likely. The railroads modified their demands for work rule changes after the steel companies gave in. Negotiations in auto, rubber and electrical industries in 1960 also should be eased for the unions.

But the steel companies also did well. The settlement was the smallest package they have had to grant since World War II. None of the new benefits are retroactive to the expiration of the last contract, and the traditional cost-of-living wage adjustments were sharply modified. And by appearing not to have agreed willingly, future price increases can be blamed on "government interference."

IN FROM THE START: Nixon and Secy. of Labor James P. Mitchell were involved in the dispute almost from the start. They met privately with leaders of both sides from time to time. McDonald appealed to Nixon for White House intervention last July. But as long as things were going management's way, the Administration played hands off.

Just before President Eisenhower left for his overseas trip Dec. 3, he asked Nixon and Mitchell to take a hand. In a television speech on the eve of his departure, the President said he hoped the steel dispute would be over when he returned in three weeks. In separate talks with union and management leaders, Nixon and Mitchell pushed hard to meet that

Herblock in Washington Post

"Mirror, mirror on the wall, Who's the fairest one of all?"

date. But the complexities of the contract took time to work out, and both sides wanted to be sure they were getting the best deal possible.

On Jan. 4 Mitchell announced that an agreement had been reached. McDonald and chief industry negotiator R. Conrad Cooper were quick to raise Nixon's arm in triumph. McDonald said: "When people have done a job and deserve credit, I give them credit, no matter what their political complexions are—except communist." McDonald's joy was so unbounded that Drew Pearson predicted (Washington **Post**, Jan. 7) he would support Nixon for President.

GOOD TIMING: But when Nixon entered the negotiations, the steel industry was already prepared to settle. The strike was almost certain to resume Jan. 26, when the Taft-Hartley 80-day "cooling-off" period expired. Private polls showed that 90%-95% of the workers would vote down management's last offer in the T-H balloting scheduled for Jan. 11-13. The companies' adamant stand on the work rules issue had united the union around the slogan: "The job you save may be your own."

These were some of the pressures on the companies for a settlement before the strike resumed:

- Other industries wanted it. Predictions of a boom year for 1960 were based on uninterrupted steel production. After the agreement, McDonald said that Joseph P. Kennedy (father of Sen. John F. Kennedy, D.-Mass.) "did a great deal down in Wall Street to bring about this settlement."
- Kaiser Steel had broken the industry front by signing a separate agreement in October.
- During the dispute the union won substantial improvements in the copper, aluminum and canning industries without granting concessions on work rules.
- Congress was sure to pass legislation restricting the dispute. Nixon told the companies that the Democrats, in control of both houses, were likely to curry favor with labor in an election year. Legislation, he said, would probably restrict management more than unions.
- George Humphrey, former Secy. of the Treasury and now head of National Steel, argued that resumption of the steel strike would hurt Republican chances in 1960. According to Drew Pearson (Washington **Post**, Jan. 7) he advocated a settlement arranged to give Nixon the credit. Pearson also pointed out that the 1956 strike was settled by Humphrey on the eve of President Eisenhower's reelection.

THE PROVISIONS: Although its ranks were solid, the union was also under pressure to settle. Strikers had already lost $2,000 in wages and the prospect of further missed paydays was not inviting. A settlement without a further strike and without conceding the work rules issue seemed like McDonald's best move.

The new agreement lasts for 30 months. Its new benefits are worth 39c an hour by union measurements; 41c by management calculations which anticipate increased insurance premium rates during the contract. These are some of the major provisions:

WAGES: There will be no increase in hourly pay until Dec. 1, 1960. (This makes it convenient for the companies to withhold a price increase until after the Presidential election.) Then, lowest category steelworkers will get 7c an hour; higher skilled workers will get up to 13c, depending on their rating. The average increase is estimated at 11c.

On Oct. 31, 1961, there will be another basic 7-cent increase with increments for the higher skills. The average increase is estimated at 10½c.

INSURANCE: As of Jan. 1, 1960, the companies will pay the full cost of life insurance, sickness and accident benefits, hospitalization and surgical insurance. This will mean an immediate increase in take-home pay because these costs had been shared previously.

PENSIONS: Improved pensions take effect immediately. Pensions for those who retire in the future are increased depending on their earnings. Those now on pension will get a $5 monthly increase. Also, workers will get 13 weeks' pay on retirement. The union estimates this to average $1,500.

COST-OF-LIVING: On Dec. 1, 1960, steel workers will get cost-of-living adjustments up to 3c an hour, depending on the Consumer Price Index. On Oct. 1, 1961, they may get an additional sum, provided that the total for both periods is no more than 6c. But, if insurance costs paid by the companies go up, the added costs may be taken out of the cost-of-living escalator.

WORK RULES: A joint committee will be established, with a "neutral" chairman, to study work-rule changes and bring in recommendations by Nov. 30, 1960. But the committee's findings are not binding.

HUMAN RELATIONS: A Human Relations Research Committee will be jointly established to deal with problems of incentives, job classifications, seniority and medical care.

To AFL-CIO president George Meany the settlement demonstrated that labor and management "have more in common than we have in conflict." He said the prolonged conflict proved the wisdom of his appeal for a summit conference with business leaders to insure industrial peace. But to steelworkers who spent better than eight months fighting the boss, Peace Through Strength seemed like a better slogan.

SEVEN NOW FACE 'RED' HEARINGS

4 more N.Y. teachers axed in a 'blind act of revenge'

IN A SURPRISE move, the New York Board of Education summarily suspended four teachers as of Jan. 8 for their failure many years ago to indicate on license applications that they were former members of the Communist Party. Schools Supt. John J. Theobald said machinery will be set in motion for departmental trials when the suspensions are discussed by the Board at its monthly meeting on Jan. 28.

The four teachers have a total of 94 years' service in the school system. One of them, Miss Debora Douglas, a physics teacher at John Jay High School in Brooklyn and a teacher since 1940, said: "It is a terrible thing to be suddenly penalized in this way for something that the board has long known about."

MOST STARTLING: Mrs. Lillian Felshin, a third grade teacher, has been teaching for 33 years and has served her school as acting principal. She called the Board's action "the most startling thing I've ever gone through. I never dreamed, they would take such precipitous action."

Mrs. Ethel Levine was "thoroughly shocked and outraged" by her suspension from a Brooklyn school. "I just find it difficult to believe that I am judged unfit to teach after I have devoted myself to my profession so wholeheartedly for the last 15 years," she said. The fourth teacher, Selig Bernstein, an instructor at Forest Hills High Schools, was appointed in 1932.

ACT OF REVENGE: The suspensions brought to a total of seven the school employes awaiting departmental hearings on the same charge. The first three were among five who won a five-year dispute with the Board when the N.Y. Court of Appeals last May upheld a ruling of the State Commissioner of Education that they could not be deprived of their jobs for refusal to name others as Communists. Instead of returning them to their posts, the Board brought the charge of falsifying applications and set Jan. 26 for pleadings.

Rose Russell, legislative representative of the N.Y. Teachers Union, said the suspensions "for something that happened ten and 15 years ago and has been known to the Board of Education for several years since the teachers themselves freely admitted it, make no sense at all except as a blind act of revenge and retaliation . . . It is, in fact, a devious, back-door device for punishing more teachers with long, unblemished records who refused to become informers . . . This is 1960, not 1950, and it would seem that our school system ought to be busy blowing out the embers of McCarthyism instead of trying to blow them up again."

FRANCIS ADAMS

How fusioned can you get?

WHO'S BEHIND IT? Criticizing the Board's "vendetta against ex-Communist teachers who refuse to achieve immunity by exposing others," the N.Y. **Post** asked: "What is the Board trying to prove? To be more specific, who on the Board is trying to win McCarthyite applause, and why?"

Answering one question with another, the **Post** pointed out that Board member Francis Adams, an ex-Police Commissioner currently being touted as an "independent fusion" Mayoralty candidate, "is apparently the architect of the Board's policies in this field," and asked: "Is Mr. Adams, so widely esteemed among reform groups, now playing to the right-wing galleries?"

Man of his word

MOSCOW, Dec. 18 (UPI)—The United States Embassy announced today that the Soviet government had issued exit visas from Lithuania to two children of a Chicago couple. The couple had appealed to Premier Khrushchev.

Paulius and Elena Leonas asked Mr. Khrushchev in Des Moines during the Premier's tour of the United States, if he could facilitate the application of their children to travel to Chicago. The children were listed as Ginas, 20 years old, and Tomas, 17.

The Leonases said the Premier had promised that their children could join them.

Two similar appeals were made to Mr. Khrushchev during his tour. There have been no developments in these cases as yet.

—New York Times, Dec. 19, 1959

WILL A FEDERAL GRAND JURY ACT?

How Mack Charles Parker was lynched

By Louis E. Burnham

In the light of a low-hanging full moon, 30 men gathered around an unpainted farmhouse six miles from Poplarville, Miss., on the night of April 25, 1959. It was Friday. Three days later Mack Charles Parker, a 23-year-old Negro truck driver, was scheduled to stand trial for the alleged rape of a white woman.

The men knew what they were going to do. They couldn't bear the thought of Parker's two Negro lawyers cross-examining the white woman. They also knew that, while Parker's conviction in the state court was a certainty, the judgment might be reversed in the Federal courts. They had heard that the Supreme Court had recently voided the murder conviction of a Negro because Negroes had been systematically excluded from the jury panel. They knew that jury panels were drawn from lists of registered voters and that in Pearl River County not a single Negro voted.

They had come prepared with gloves, masks, clubs and guns. They knew what they were going to do. But they needed this meeting to bolster their courage, reinforce each other's hate, transform themselves into a mob. It was a pep rally.

They passed the bootleg booze. It primed their malevolence. They sent two emissaries 36 miles to Hattiesburg to invite the woman's husband to join them, but he refused.

They talked on and drank on and eventually one of them shouted the inevitable words: "Let's take the nigger out of jail!"

A sheriff's deputy told them where to find the key to the cell. They put slips of paper into a hat, one for each man, nine of them marked, the others blank. It was 1 o'clock Saturday morning when the men who had drawn blanks got in their cars and returned home. The nine, in two automobiles, sped to the Poplarville jail.

They found the key in a file cabinet and clambered up the stairs. They opened the cell door. Another prisoner fingered Parker and they clobbered their victim with fists and clubs. They dragged him, screaming, down the stairway, his head bouncing off each steel tread like "a ping pong ball," his bloodied hands leaving a crimson trail as they clutched at the steps.

They threw him in the lead car and the driver, a former deputy, drove through groves of tung trees to the bank of the Pearl River, boundary between Mississippi and Louisiana. There they dumped Parker on the ground and clubbed him into a pulp. But Parker still lived. One of the nine men, a minister, drew his pistol and fired two bullets into the mauled man's body. One of the bullets tore off part of his face. Mack Charles Parker was dead.

They threw the body back into the car and drove across a bridge to the Louisiana side of the river. They probably meant to dump the corpse there, but the lights of an oncoming automobile surprised them. They re-crossed the bridge, threw the body into the Pearl River on the downstream Mississippi side and went home.

They had known what they were going to do. Now the deed was done.

Drawing by Fred Wright

THE ABOVE IS THE STORY which U.S. attorneys were presumably unfolding before a Federal grand jury which met Jan. 4 to consider the lynching of Mack Charles Parker. The government had bowed out of the case last May 25 after spending $80,000 on the investigation and turning a 378-page FBI report over to state authorities for action.

When the Pearl River County grand jury met last November and failed to consider the report or call any FBI witnesses, a local official condoned its inaction. "You couldn't convict the guilty parties if you had a sound film of the lynching," he said.

ON SECOND THOUGHT: But the bestiality of the crime and the popular revulsion it had aroused caused U. S. Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers to entertain some second thoughts. A first reading of the FBI report had led him to the conclusion that the Federal kidnap law had not been violated, since the lynchers carried a corpse and not a live man across the bridge to Louisiana, and that "no other successful Federal prosecution could be maintained." But now he called the county grand jury's failure to indict "a flagrant and calculated miscarriage of justice" and announced that the Dept. of Justice would move against the lynchers in the Federal court.

The Federal grand jury, sitting in Biloxi, was composed of 22 white men—substantial farmers, an auto dealer and other businessmen, an ex-cop—and a Negro longshoreman. Twelve or more affirmative votes would result in an indictment. The jurymen were expected to spend two weeks listening to eight or nine prime witnesses and many others who had drawn blanks the night of April 25 or had other knowledge of the case.

ONE MAN'S TESTIMONY: In the first days of the hearing three "defense" attorneys appeared on behalf of some of the prime suspects, an unusual proceeding for grand jury hearings. It was expected that the lynchers would plead the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination, and refuse to testify, but that one or two others who met at the farmhouse would give state's evidence.

The Government's entire case is based on the participation of the deputy who did not accompany the lynchers but did tell them where they could get the key to Parker's cell. Under Section 242, Title I of the U. S. Code, an enactment passed by a Reconstruction Congress in 1866, this constitutes a conspiracy by a state official and others to deprive a citizen of his rights. All members of the conspiracy may be fined $1,000 and jailed for a maximum of one year.

MID-FEBRUARY TRIAL? The only other Federal law remotely touching the crime was another post-Civil War statute which imposes maximum penalties of a $10,000 fine and 10 years imprisonment on officers who deprived citizens of their rights "under color of law." Justice Dept. lawyers decided this was inapplicable.

If the grand jury handed down an indictment the lynchers would probably go to trial in mid-February, just at the time Congress is expected to be embroiled in a debate on civil rights legislation.

Mississippi's white citizens, meanwhile, were reported to be undergoing, under the surface of their complacency, a conflict between dread and guilt. But their spokesmen put up a brave front. A Poplarville minister told a **Look** magazine reporter: "Not a single member of my congregation has mentioned this thing to me, and I haven't mentioned it to them. We are only involved in spiritual matters."

SICKER AND SICKER: And Federal Judge Sidney C. Mize, instructing the grand jury, said in a voice quaking with emotion: "I think, on the whole, that there is no place in the nation where the relation between the two races is as good and as highly respected as in Mississippi, and I'm proud of that."

An Atlanta newspaperman may or may not have had Judge Mize in mind when he told the **Look** reporter: "Such people have got to quit fooling themselves. Until they have the guts to look into their own consciences, they're going to get sicker and sicker. They're plenty sick now."

The Portland strike

(Continued from Page 1)

ed forces to put out a combined **Oregonian-Journal** on the **Oregonian's** presses. (It has long been rumored in Portland that Newhouse plans to merge the debt-ridden **Journal** with his paper and this seemed a step nearer that goal.) Executives, ad salesmen, secretaries, editorial-page writers and other non-union personnel somehow got out a jury-rig joint paper. The first issue was a mess: the advertising manager himself had pied a full-page ad; date-lines were upside down; one story ran from right to left; headlines were scrambled.

SCHLEPPY AND KLEIN: Later a full crew of scabs was flown in from their last strikebreaking job in Arlington, Va., to man the mechanical departments. They were supplied by an outfit headed by Bloor Schleppey and Shirley Klein who, said the **Oregon Labor Press**, a trade union weekly, "operate a professional strikebreaking service for the American Newspaper Publishers Assn."

Later, evidence suggested that the Newhouse management had planned in advance to provoke a strike. Some Portland visitors to Reno, Nev., five months earlier had met up in a bar with a couple of strikebreakers then working at the struck Reno **Gazette and Journal**. They assured the visitors that they would be in Portland later in the year. The Newspaper Guild now charges that 116 professional strikebreakers are at work for the struck papers. It is also charged that both papers are drawing "strike insurance"; the **AFL-CIO News** (Jan. 9) said: "Lavish outlays for recruiting and paying strikebreakers . . . are made possible by payments from a publishers' strike insurance plan. Each management can collect up to $10,000 daily over a 50-day period for a combined total of $1,000,000."

STATE INVESTIGATION: Use of professional strikebreakers drew state attention: late in December the Oregon Legislative Interim Committee on Labor Management ordered a special investigation starting this month on the importation of scabs. At the same time the Oregon Wage and Hour Commission decided to hold hearings on charges that the struck papers were working women teletypesetter operators 72 hours a week in violation of the state's 44-hour work-week for women employes.

Earlier, the struck papers had rejected a mediation offer from Republican Gov. Mark Hatfield; the unions had accepted.

Since the strike started, the publishers have informed the Stereotypers' Union that they will demand a no-strike clause and an open shop.

The seriousness of the situation brought the top leaders of all the involved unions to Portland for a meeting to plan joint strategy and tactics which began on Jan. 6. The **Guild Reporter, Jan. 8**, said editorially:

"From all obtainable evidence, the Portland work stoppage serves as a pattern which, if it succeeds, could lead to its adoption elsewhere in the newspaper industry, to the complete destruction of union-won safeguards in pay and working conditions. . . .

"The picture is a gruesome one. Given strike insurance and the willingness to import a loathsome crew of strikebreakers, there is also the possibility of the extinction of Portland's home-owned newspaper. In its place readers would have a daily single-mindedly devoted to making money for its East Coast owner, who is a financial operator, not a publisher. It's an ugly situation, dangerous to the public welfare, to the industry and to its union."

SUPPORT IS SOLID: It is this combination of to-hell-with-the-law, damn-the-public, bust-the-unions that has brought all Portland labor into solid support of the newspaper strikers. A TV fund has enabled the unions to present the strikers' story on the air. A cancel-your-sub campaign has cut the struck papers' circulation by an estimated 100,000. The city's top labor leaders take their turn on the picket line, and are frequently joined by students from Reed and Portland State Colleges.

The **Oregon Labor Press** took on six striking editorial staff members, plus striking cartoonists and photographers, upped its press run to 100,000 for its Dec. 18 issue, increased it to 275,000 at the end of the year, and since then has had runs up to 330,000. It has had several issues devoted entirely to the strike, and has organized door-to-door delivery throughout the city and in the suburbs.

A NEW DAILY? Out of it all has grown the project of founding an independent labor-backed daily in Portland. A special meeting of union representatives voted unanimously in favor of the idea, and planned a house-to-house campaign to promote it through the sale of stock. Now in the works is a Portland meeting of the heads of all national newspaper unions to discuss the project.

The city's general attitude was perhaps best expressed in the appearance on the picket line one day of a massive dog with a placard around its neck: "I eat rats."

Steel Labor, Indianapolis

"I dunno—she may be the office girls' union business agent."

PROFIT BEFORE HONOR—IT PAYS OFF BIG

The big business of stealing business secrets

By Frank Bellamy
(First of two articles)

UNLIKE THIEVES, there's not much honor among American capitalists—at least not where corporate secrets are concerned.

According to **Fortune**, the **Wall Street Journal** and a number of other business journals, the stealing of corporate secrets is a profitable and booming business.

"In the opinion of some of those engaged in this unsavory business, there is more industrial espionage going on in the U.S. today than in any other period in our history," said **Fortune** (May, 1956).

The **Wall Street Journal** (March 3, 1959) reported: "Today, although little is heard of their activities, the men who engage in this unusual vocation say more and more businesses are using their services to ferret out competitors' secrets."

The secrets include a company's exclusive processes, formulas or production techniques, its sales volume, its plans for future expansion, production or sales—almost anything considered unique to the company and vital to its profits.

THE EXCUSES: So widespread is business espionage and so profitable to the secret stealers that rationalizations have inevitably arisen to justify it.

"It's the pressure of competition," professional business spy Ulmont O. Cumming told the **Wall Street Journal.** "When a manufacturer sees a competitor pulling ahead because of a better or cheaper product he naturally wants to know how come. So he hires somebody to find the answers. Assignments of this kind always mount when competition is as rough as it is now."

But competition has always been rough. Known snoopers like General Motors and Revlon don't have to swipe secrets to stay in business. They do so because secrets are worth money—something they want more of. Profit, then, cannot be divorced from competition as a motive for spying.

Espionage plays so important a role in the American economy that neither Congress nor the National Association of Manufacturers has done anything toward its elimination. Snooping is accepted practice and disclosures about it no longer shock anyone.

OBLIGATORY THEFT: Commenting on the reaction to the **Fortune** article on "Business Espionage," Richard Gehman said in **Cosmopolitan** (Feb., 1958):

Wall Street Journal
"This guy we wire-tapped is the father of a teen-age girl!"

"Tycoons did not rush to their dictating machines to shriek out protests; they read the article solemnly, nodded, winked, and went right on doing what they were doing. And none of them—well, few of them—saw anything wrong in it. Industrial spying is as common as the 40-hour week. 'In business,' one executive said recently, without the slightest trace of guilt or regret in his tone, 'it's not only ethical to steal secrets, it's obligatory.'"

Most executives, of course, shy away from doing the dirty work. They prefer to hire undercover operatives to do it for them. Nine Harvard Business School graduates who compiled a 77-page report on industrial spying quoted one private eye as bragging:

A PRIVATE EYE HOLDS A 'BUG'
Electronic snoopery's the rage

"I'm the best damn business spy in the country. There isn't a company I can't get into and find out everything I need to know."

HOW THEY WORK: Pros like this worm their way into a plant in the guise of a fire or safety inspector, an innocent, ignorant and curious stockholder, a trade magazine writer preparing an article, a detective looking for an errant employe. Some even hire on as employes themselves.

"While he's on forbidden territory," according to the **Wall Street Journal**, secret stealer Cumming memorizes "all answers and data about the size and shape of equipment, amount of ingredients used and other pertinent facts . . . As soon as he leaves the premises he scribbles the information in a notebook so he won't forget any of the details."

Cumming is proof that spying pays off. According to **Cosmopolitan**, "he has two luxurious apartments in New York, a home in Atlantic Beach, Long Island, and another in Florida."

Other gumshoes prefer to bribe a disgruntled worker to get the desired information. "Very often, said **Fortune**, "a great deal can be learned about a business simply by bribing a janitor or charwoman to save the contents of office waste-baskets. Stenographers habitually throw away spoiled letters, contracts, etc., intact, while the average executive is so unmindful of what he puts into his 'round file' that one investigator recently remarked, 'Give me a company's waste paper for a couple of weeks, and I'll tell you all about its operations.'"

HAPPY HUNTING: One of the richest grounds for snooping is Detroit. "Nowhere is commercial spying practiced more assiduously today than in the auto industry," **Popular Science** reported in February, 1958. "With billions of dollars in sales riding on the public's whims, and with as much as three years' lead time needed to ready a new model, an auto maker must know quickly and accurately what nasty surprises his competitor is brewing."

John Keats, author of **The Insolent Chariots**, told in the August, 1958, issue of **Playboy** how "each company employs spies and counter-spies, rumorists and counter-rumorists. Rival helicopters flutter over high-walled test tracks. Ford guards peer at an adjacent water tower with a 60-power telescope to make sure no long-range camera is mounted on it by a rival concern. One automotive company installed a microphone in a blonde's brassiere and sent her off to seduce a secret . . . The final result is that all the companies know all the secrets of all the other companies, and everyone brings out the same car."

Snoopery is likewise commonplace in the oil industry. The Harvard researchers found one oilman who admitted paying geologists from five competing companies $500 a month to feed him secrets. Oil scouts, **Fortune** reported, "steal telltale core samples while posing as equipment salesmen, college boys, itinerant preachers; or they just watch a drill rig through field glasses until oil is struck, then hightail it to the nearest phone and take up options on the surrounding land.

"That's the way the game is played by all companies concerned, and the economic incentives being what they are, it would be sheer sanctimony to expect anything else."

NEW DEVICES: Technological advances in eavesdropping have made it easier than ever to pilfer confidential business information. New types of electronic rats include:

- A directional horn-shaped listening device that will pick up a voice as far as one-quarter mile away.
- A tiny portable transmitter, the size of a package of cigarettes, that can be taped under an executive's desk. It will broadcast all conversations to a receiver a block or so away.
- A six-foot directional gun microphone, with a telescope lens for sighting, that is mounted on the sixth floor of a building and can pick up conversations in the street below.
- Telephoto movies of a business conversation, afterwards translated by a lip reading expert.
- A miniature wire recorder that fits snugly in a spy's briefcase. He forgets the briefcase when he leaves. Then he comes back for the briefcase and finds out what was said after he left.
- A microphone and transmitter that can be fitted into an electrical wall socket. It will pick up even a whisper in the room and transmit through the building's electrical system to a receiver in the basement.
- And the time-honored telephone tap, one version of which will pick up a voice even when the phone receiver is on the hook. A few years ago E. R. Squibb & Sons discovered that its president's phone was being tapped by a competitor interested in any new "wonder drug" Squibb planned to market. It was also a tap that "private ear" John G. (Steve) Broady used to steal secrets at Hazel Bishop for his client Revlon.

EVERYBODY DOES IT: Said the Harvard report: "The implications of the widespread use of this equipment are quickly apparent—no executive could ever be certain that his conversations were not being recorded or listened to. The significance of this activity is more striking when one considers that no special training is needed to operate this equipment—anyone might be using it."

Salesmen are often as helpful as professional spies in business espionage. They are fond of exchanging brags that reveal what the other fellow is doing. According to the Harvard report, a major road machinery firm gives each of its salesmen a roll of 35mm film so he can take pictures of competitors' equipment he sees on business trips.

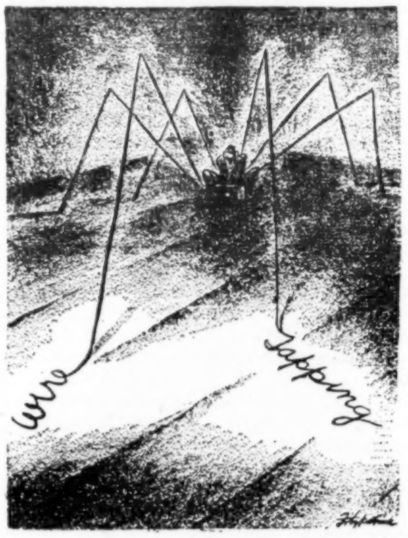
Sometimes the direct approach is the best; that is, hiring the man who has the desired information. "He is expected to deliver, and usually does," said **Fortune** in calling this a "widespread practice."

A CHEAPER WAY: Or it may be cheaper to pump the man without actually hiring him. Said the **Wall Street Journal** of super-snooper Cumming:

"Posing as an executive recruiter, he has on occasion approached middle-management personnel of companies whose secrets he covets, offering them attractive jobs in rival firms. While dangling high salaries and big posts before them, he adroitly pumps them for the information he's after.

"Even if the dupes should discover, after their 'rejection' for the job, that they've been taken, there usually is no kickback to Mr. Cumming. The talkers are afraid to admit to their superiors that they had been blabbering."

Hardly anyone kicks, it seems—neither the snooped-on nor especially the snoopers. That's how common and accepted snooping has become in corporate-controlled America. Everyone's doing it, even the government.



Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Poisonous Spider

NO RIGHT TO PRIVACY: Any ethical scruples a businessman might have are eased by the knowledge that the government plays the game too. One reason so few business spies are brought to book is that the Department of Justice, the agency charged with responsibility for prosecuting illegal wire tapping and similar electronic eavesdropping, indulges in the practice too.

It is only when the newspapers catch on to some particularly blatant case of snoopery that the public is made aware of its existence. After the heat simmers down, the right-to-pry obsession regains sway and reintrenches itself in the American way of doing business.

Not even millionaires have a right to privacy anymore.

NEXT WEEK: Spying on labor.

Europe, Anyone?
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London County Councilor
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CITIZENS' GROUPS ALARMED AT HAZARDS

Atomic waste disposal protested

By Robert E. Light
(Second of three articles)

THE ATOMIC Energy Commission has been far from candid and, sometimes, less than honest in telling where and how it disposes of radioactive atomic wastes. It wants to avoid public discussion because there is little scientific sanction for its practice of dumping low-level wastes in the ocean. Its disingenuous attitude has frightened and aroused several communities and has antagonized one foreign government.

The AEC's high-handed manner of dumping low-level waste touched off a storm in Cape Cod, Mass., last summer when residents learned that for 13 years, from 1946 to 1959, radioactive materials packed in steel drums had been dumped in 300 feet of water or less at a point 12 miles off Boston's shore and 27 miles off Provincetown. They also discovered that there were no accurate records of the volume and radioactive intensity of the materials dumped.

HAZARD DENIED: The story came to light last August after reporter Grace DesChamps and others began to investigate. There had been rumors of dumping off the Cape and the **Saturday Evening Post** had printed a story about a Boston "atomic garbageman." But when the Cape Cod Chamber of Commerce in 1957 asked the Army Corps of Engineers about the matter, it was assured that the government's waste-disposal methods offered no health hazard of "any significance."

The investigators turned up the inshore dump site and learned it was handled by the Crossroads Marine Disposal Corp. under AEC license. In talks with Crossroads president George C. Perry, they found that the AEC had only recently shifted his site to a point 220 miles out and 1,000 fathoms (6,000 feet) deep, although the Natl. Committee on Radiation Protection had recommended in 1954 that the AEC move all dump sites far offshore.

In addition, they discovered that another company had been licensed recently to dump off the Cape and the AEC had already assigned it a site.

CITIZENS ACT: As word spread, Cape Codders began to panic. The area is sustained almost entirely by revenue from fishing and summer vacationers. The Lower Cape Cod Committee on Radioactive Waste Disposal was formed to publicize what was already known and to investigate further. On the committee's initiative the Boston **Globe** published a story and Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.) wrote to the AEC demanding an explanation.

The pot boiled over when Cape Codders learned accidentally on Aug. 20, 1959, that the AEC had published a notice in the **Federal Register** announcing that "in the absence of request for formal hearing," it would grant atomic waste disposal licenses on Aug. 25 for five new sites, including one off Cape Cod. Telegrams were sent to the AEC asking for a postponement and a hearing. The Barnstable County Selectmen's Assn. appealed to local Congressmen for help.

MORE REASSURANCE: While the excitement raged over the new site, AEC general manager A. E. Luedecke answered Kennedy's letter about the two existing sites. "The protection of public health and safety," he said, "is a primary consideration" in the AEC's disposal program. He added: "It should be noted that all such packaged waste disposed of in the Atlantic have been and are now being disposed of off the continental shelf, in water 1,000 fathoms or deeper. . . . The AEC has no intention of designating any of the inshore sites without first carrying out detailed field studies."

He concluded: "Before any areas would be officially designated, public hearings would be held so that all parties concerned would be heard on the matter."

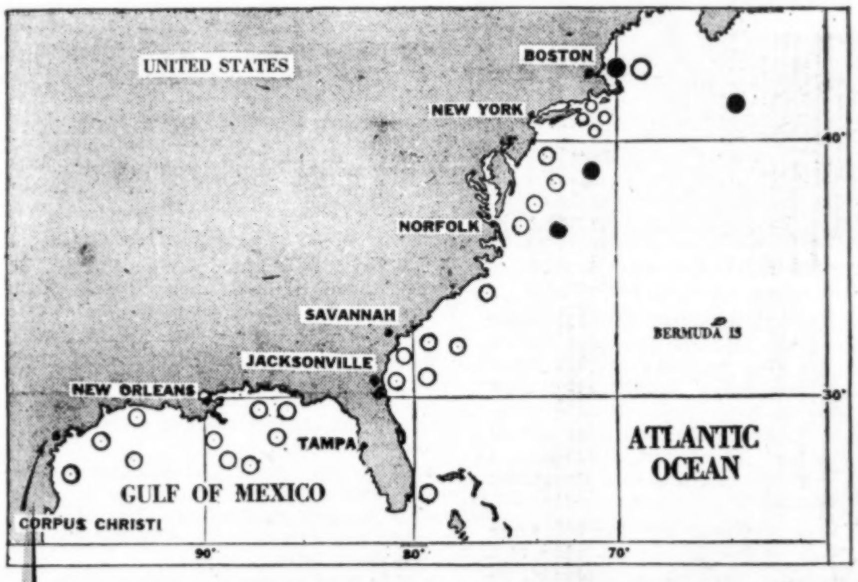
But in light of what the Cape Cod investigators had learned, Luedecke's assurances didn't hold water. In an article in the **Nation** (Sept. 19, 1959) Grace DesChamps questioned his candor. Of Luedecke's contention that wastes always "have been" dumped in 1,000 fathoms of water, she asked: "What about that Boston dump site, in 50 fathoms of water, with 13 years' accumulation of radioactive wastes?"

And for his assertion that dump sites are checked in advance for safety, she noted: "What criteria had determined the feasibility of the [inshore Boston] dump, Luedecke did not say. Nor did he touch on the matter of the two offshore dumps."

MORE PROTEST: The committee challenged Luedecke's assurances that the AEC will hold public hearings in advance of issuing licenses. It asked: "If you don't know a license is being issued, how can you ask for a public hearing?" The committee pointed out: "The AEC puts its license notices in the **Federal Register** printed in Washington, D.C. Few, except high-level government officials, ever heard of the **Federal Register**—to say nothing of reading it. It is not a free government publication, and the average citizen without special interests would have little reason to subscribe to it. If some local selectman miraculously got his hands on a copy the day it was printed, he would still have only 15 days in which to alert his community and summon the scientific and legal assistance necessary to protect its interests."

The fuss kicked up by the committee won a postponement of the new license. The AEC called a public hearing in Boston on Sept. 23. But the "hearing" turned out to be an "informational" meeting at which a squad of AEC officials laid down the official line to Cape Cod selectmen. Ordinary citizens and summer-home owners were excluded and thus most members of the committee did not attend.

MORE DENIALS: At the meeting AEC officials denied that the commission was secretive about its operations and insisted that state health departments and the press were notified of all activities. (But at hearings of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee last spring, Karl Mason, director of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Environmental Health, testified that his department "after specifically asking the general manager of the AEC to advise it on proposed nuclear facilities, still finds itself in the position of having to read in the newspapers of specific proposals to locate a large nuclear reactor on one of its waterways.")



THE EMPTY CIRCLES REPRESENT PROPOSED WASTE DISPOSAL SITES
The chart is from a study by the Natl. Academy of Sciences which concluded that, under certain conditions, these areas could be used for low-level wastes. The black circles represent sites already in use.

They rejected all arguments that there was danger to human life. But John Snow, chairman of the Provincetown Board of Selectmen, found the note that touched the AEC officials: "If the people just hear about radioactivity they won't buy the fish." Licensing of the new site was held in abeyance pending further study.

STILL MORE PROTESTS: But not all communities have been as successful in slowing down the AEC's ocean dumping projects, although many have been aroused. Officials and local citizens in Rhode Island, Connecticut, Florida, Alabama, North Carolina and Texas have taken steps to prevent dumping in their coastal waters.

Most became involved last June when the AEC published a report on ocean dumping by a panel of oceanographers of the Natl. Academy of Sciences. The AEC ordered the study to determine if it could dump close to shore and save the expense of hauling the steel drums 200 miles out. Although the scientists set down precautionary rules of procedure, they selected 28 sites along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts permissible for dumping. The areas ranged from Boston to Corpus Christi and were from 10 to 100 miles offshore.

Texans protested the loudest. Sen. Ralph W. Yarborough said: "There are a great many questions of safety which have not been suitably answered and, until they are, I not only oppose the addition of new dumping sites, I believe we should not pollute our Gulf waters at all."

Rep. Clark W. Thompson pointed out that one of the suggested sites is only 21 miles from Galveston and in water only about 45 feet deep. He added: "Some of the places named in the report are the best fishing grounds in the Gulf."

The AEC is holding or has promised hearings in all affected areas, but it is also going ahead with oceanographic surveys of the dumping sites.

MEXICO RILED: The AEC's dumping program also set off a minor international incident June 15 which is not yet settled. On that day the government of Mexico, through its ambassador, served formal protest on the State Department of a proposed dump site in the Gulf. In a note to AEC, the State Dept. concluded that licensing the site would harm relations with Mexico. As a result, public hearings were put off to Jan. 20.

The State Dept. note said: "It would be difficult to explain why the United States unilaterally and without the concurrence of Mexico selected a site for disposal of radioactive wastes in an area approximately 180 miles from the shores of both countries, particularly as so little can be known with certainty in Mexico regarding the possible adverse effects oceanic waste disposal might have over a long period of time."

Protection of public health and safety from atomic dumping demands Federal concern. The problem arises from the AEC's arbitrary power to: (1) decide on ocean dumping in the face of contradictory scientific opinion; (2) select sites without the knowledge or consent of residents of affected areas; (3) set its own safety standards and (4) police its own operations.

PROBE NEEDED: The Cape Cod committee suggested Federal court jurisdiction over dump sites. Others have proposed that authority over public health should be taken from AEC. Last year, after the AEC's shoddy methods of testing food, air and water for radioactivity were revealed, the Surgeon General's Natl. Advisory Committee proposed that the Public Health Service take over the AEC's police functions. Although all agreed, the transfer has not yet occurred.

Regardless of how the AEC's powers are dispersed, public scrutiny of the government's atomic waste disposal program is vital. An investigation-conscious Congress would do well to look into the matter.

NEXT WEEK: How private industry is polluting our rivers.

Developments in the instruments of death

July 1945	First A-bomb test, Alamagordo
August 1945	First A-bomb on a city, Hiroshima
August 1949	First Soviet A-bomb test
October 1952	First British A-bomb
November 1952	First U.S. thermonuclear test explosion
August 1953	First Soviet thermonuclear test
March 1954	U.S. fission-fusion-fission test
November 1955	First Soviet air drop of H-bomb
May 1956	First U.S. air drop of H-bomb
May 1957	First British H-bomb
August 1957	First Soviet I.C.B.M. announced
December 1957	First U.S. I.C.B.M. announced

The best society

THE AUTOMOBILE heiress herself was the symbolic finished product of what her great-grandfather Ford began a long time ago as the classic Model "T" Ford.

In the 20th century the best society is that created by the industrialists—men of ability who use their minds and talents to make money—men who produce in spite of the binds of taxes—men who like to make money and do not fool themselves about it.

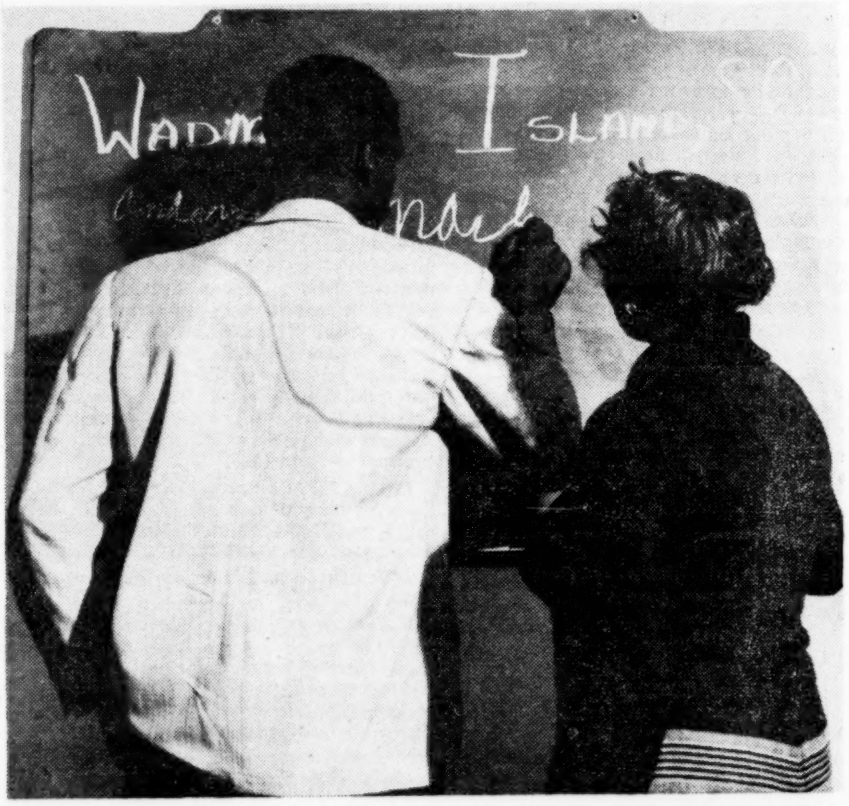
—Cordell Hicks, Los Angeles **Times** staff representative, reporting on the lavish debut of Charlotte Ford in Detroit Dec. 21.

Mountain school brings hope to Sea Island folk

ON THE SEA ISLANDS: *The streets are unpaved and the buildings ramshackle, but the people have new hope.*

MRS. SEPTIMA CLARK
A molder of local leadership

Myles Horton, Highlander director, discusses citizenship training with Esau Jenkins, store owner who helped double Negro registration on Johns Island.



W-a-d-m-a-l-a-w: With patience and kindness a local leader teaches a neighbor how to spell the island's name. Next word? Why not: c-i-t-i-z-e-n?

FOR THE PAST four years the Sea Islands, on the coast southeast of Charleston, S.C., have been the scene of a unique citizenship project. In 1955 the Highlander Folk School of Monteagle, Tenn., started its first adult literacy class on Johns Island. The purpose was to enable the disfranchised Negro citizens of the island to pass the reading and writing tests required for voter registration.

Of the 36 men and women in the first class, all qualified as voters. Word spread and people came from Wadmalaw, Edisto and other islands to learn how they could start their own literacy schools and citizenship programs. Highlander responded. Under the guidance of its director, Myles Horton, and its educational director, Mrs. Septima Clark, the Folk School set about training local leadership to do the job.

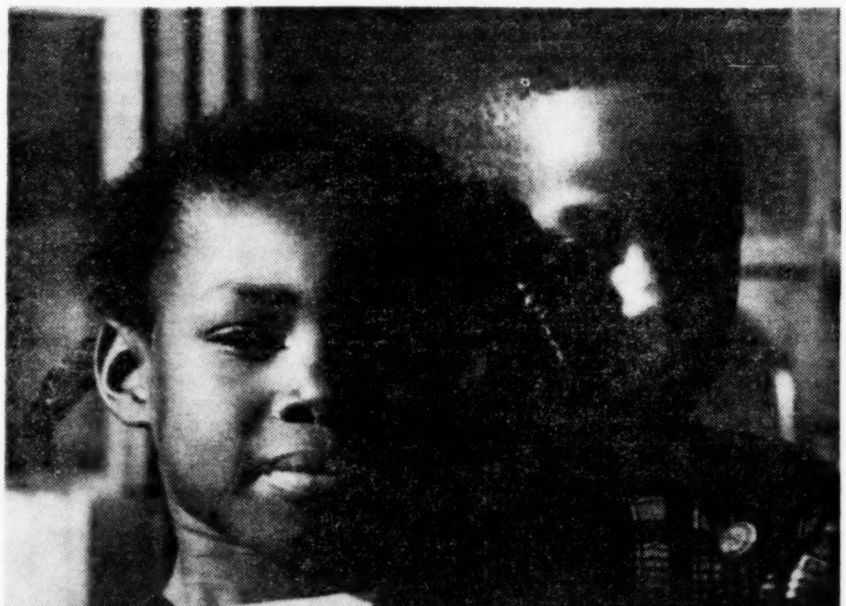
On Johns Island, Esau Jenkins, a restaurant owner, had been the spark plug of the project. As other classes developed they were taught by a Presbyterian minister and his wife, and by a beautician and a seamstress. Schools are in session three months of the year and classes are held in community centers, shops and store rooms.

EXPANDED PROGRAM: Literacy training is only part of the year-round program of citizenship training developed by the people themselves. They hold monthly meetings often attended by a fourth of the adult population, conduct week-end conferences, show educational movies, carry on numerous recreation, health and civic projects. On Johns Island they have built a community center, and one group of islanders has organized a small cooperative store.

Of the 2,702 Negroes on Johns Island, only 200 were registered voters when the propect started. Today there are approximately 500. For Highlander this is vindication of its reason for being: to prepare citizenship leaders at the local level.

Highlander leaders contend: "There can never be enough full-time professional workers to release the energies and stimulate the ideas needed to make democracy a reality. We must have much more leadership rooted in the community."

Highlander was founded 28 years ago as a racially integrated workshop school. It has recently weathered an attack by state officials who oppose its program. Inqiuiries or contributions may be addressed to Myles Horton, Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn.



NOT QUITE READY TO VOTE
But if their parents do, life will be better for these Sea Island youngsters.

COUNTRYSIDE TRANSFORMED

Czech trade with West grows but U.S. maintains a boycott

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PRAGUE

IN THE PEASANT village of Vychodna, at the foot of the Tatra Mountains, the older folk in their local costumes sit and chat in front of their houses on a Sunday afternoon, while the young people dance on the village green to music of three gypsy fiddlers. All the straw-thatched houses are painted pink and blue in Vychodna.

But for all its prettiness, this is an ordinary village by Slovak standards. Other older and prettier ones have been made museum villages by the government. Slovakia, famed for its exquisite embroideries and lace, its music and dances, is still the country's most abundant treasury of folklore.

A few hours from Vychodna peasant life has changed radically. The great agricultural cooperatives in the rich southern Slovak plain are not only putting up more and more TV antennas, but are giving the peasants two things they never had before: (1) cash money (cooperative farmers' wages compare to an average metal worker's pay), and (2) paid vacations away from home. Vychodna, incidentally, set up a cooperative two years ago. It now has 400 members (membership is voluntary in Czechoslovakia), while 147 peasants continue on their own.

NEW INGREDIENT: On the other side of Vychodna, in the Vah valley, Slovakia is undergoing an even more fundamental transformation. The river Vah, long a hikers' and anglers' paradise, now nourishes a complex of 22 hydro-electric stations, half of which are already functioning. A little further away, at Trnva, the first atomic power station is being built. Slovakia, without roads, power or industry less than a half-century ago, is now exporting electric power to Poland and Austria. Slovakia today is a country of folklore plus power dams.

Under Hungarian domination since the 10th century, Slovakia became part of the First Czechoslovak Republic after World War I. Under Hungarian rule, it was a "colonial" territory in a perpetually underdeveloped state; many of its inhabitants had no choice but to starve or emigrate. Even under the First Republic, Slovakia was industrially a century behind the two other Czech provinces, Bohemia and Moravia, where industry has long been firmly established.

NEW EMPHASIS: Before the war, Czechoslovakia concentrated on light industry (textiles, shoes, crystal, costume jewelry), which made it vulnerable to the effects of world economic crises. The 1929 crash brought Czech production figures down 40%, with nearly 1,000,000 unemployed in 1933. After the war, the emphasis, as in all socialist countries, was put on heavy industry first, and Czechoslovakia had both the industrial experience and the raw materials (coal and iron, manganese, mercury, antimony, graphite—and vast uranium deposits).

Production figures tell the story. Between 1937 and 1956, steel production went up from 2.3 to 4.9 million tons per year, coal from 16.6 to 23.4 million; electricity from 4.1 to 16.6 billion kilowatt hours, with 25.3 billion kilowatt hours the goal for the end of the second five-year plan in 1960. Czechoslovakia already outstrips France in per capita power production and is about to top French per capita steel output.

Taking 1937 as index 100, Czech industrial production as a whole stood at 266 in 1956. (It was 600 for Slovakia, taken separately.)

THE COSTUMES AND THE FOLK DANCES ARE STILL THERE
But power dams and modern industries are rapidly moving in

EXPANDING TRADE: Czechoslovakia is not only working for itself but for the entire socialist group of nations. (Between 1948 and 1956, Czech commerce with the socialist countries, the Soviet Union excepted, increased by 250%.) It occupies a vital place in the overall plan to coordinate and accelerate economic collaboration and exchange, in raw materials, manufactured goods, and technicians, inside the socialist camp as a whole. Some of the ore that feeds the Ostrava steel works comes from the Soviet Union, China—and India.

The underdeveloped countries to which Czechoslovakia often furnishes whole industrial plants along with the specialists to train local technicians have more than doubled in importance on the Czech export list since the war.

Besides an automobile and motorcycle industry of pre-war fame and a rapidly growing chemical industry, industrial machinery and equipment take up by far the most important part in Czech exports: 50% this year, as against 6.4% in 1937.

Near Brno, capital of Moravia, the machine tool works Tos Kurim export half their production of highly specialized industrial machinery, including the latest types of automation machines, to 82 different countries, among them England, Holland and Belgium. For Czechoslovakia is also making a comeback on the Western markets.

The beautiful old city of Brno has recently replaced Prague as an International Fair city. It has set aside a permanent fair ground, built some remarkable exhibition halls, and chosen industrial machinery as its permanent fair theme. At the first Brno International Trade Fair last September, more than 40 foreign countries participated; the U.S. was conspicuously absent. Of Czechoslovakia's total fair business, one-fifth was with the West, with Great Britain, Italy and Western Germany holding the three top places.

Rockets and atoms

(Continued from Page 1)

Washington officials could find "no legal or diplomatic objections." The officials noted that "the U.S. has, if anything, established a precedent for such firings with its [atomic] test ranges in the Pacific and the Atlantic."

MANSFIELD PROTESTS: By Jan. 10, Washington's attitude seemed to be changing. Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) urged the State Dept. to protest Moscow's "arrogant" designation of the test area, which he said, was "contrary to international policy." He wired Secy. of State Herter that if Moscow ignored the protest the U.S. should call a special session of the UN to "deal with this high-handed pronouncement."

Japanese Premier Nobusuke Kishi also complained that the tests would interfere with fishing in the area and suggested a UN discussion.

Others noted in this connection that the U.S. had ignored the Marshall Islanders' (who are under U.S. trusteeship) petition to the UN in July, 1954, against nuclear weapons tests in the area. After the March 1 U.S. H-bomb test there that year, 236 Marshall Islanders suffered severe burns from radiation. Tokyo at the time accused the U.S. of refusing its request for prior notice of future tests. Britain similarly ignored the protests of the Japanese and the Indonesians when it closed off a wide area of the Pacific and conducted nuclear weapons tests on the Christmas Islands.

THE SCIENTISTS MEET: **The Moscow announcement underscored the importance of the Geneva test ban conference, which reconvened Jan. 12. It was fervently hoped the conference would resolve the new tensions created by the President's statement following the deadlock at the U.S.-Soviet-British scientists' meeting** last month on detection of underground tests.

Eisenhower announced on Dec. 29 that the U.S. would reserve the right to resume testing—with adequate advance notification—after its test ban moratorium expired Dec. 31. He spoke of "the intemperate and technically unsupportable Soviet annex" to the scientists' report. Soviet Premier Khrushchev said the following day that Moscow would maintain test suspension as long as the West did.

TELLER'S "BIG HOLE": The scientists met last month at U.S. insistence. On the basis of a study made by the Rand Corp. —a research organization that does work for the Air Force—the U.S. maintained that 100-kilotron nuclear explosions staged in underground caverns with a diameter 800 feet wide would be so muted as to make detection all but impossible.

This "big hole" theory was conceived by Dr. Edward Teller, the Livermore Laboratory scientist who still urges the U. S. to prepare for "limited nuclear warfare." It was raised at the 1958 Geneva scientists' conference and rejected; an agreement on inspection and detection followed.

Last month the U.S. experts at Geneva contended they had new data to support the "big hole" theory. They insisted on a drastic revision of the 1958 agreement on scientific criteria for investigating a tremor. They said that any seismic event recorded by the worldwide network of 180 control posts must be subject to investigation, if not positively identified as an earthquake.

"BRINK OF ABSURDITY": The Soviet delegation reportedly considered the American view as highly speculative and impractical. They felt it "would leave under suspicion the overwhelming majority of the earthquakes registered by the control system," and placed their "U.S. colleagues on the brink of absurdity." But they agreed to improvements in detection methods recommended in 1958.

In a letter to the New York **Times** (Jan. 6) Jay Orear, Cornell University physicist, noted that Teller's "grandiose man-made chamber" (large enough to hold a dozen RCA buildings) needed to cushion a 100-kilotron bomb would take years to build. (This was conceded by Dr. Harold Brown, nuclear physicist and Teller's colleague at Livermore.)

Orear said: "But several years from now we must be further along with disarmament. Then the key questions will be cessation of bomb production and reduction of the stockpiles. The only present relevance of cushioning is that it somewhat raises the lower limit of detection."

WILL THEY INSIST? As an anxious world watched with foreboding France coming closer to exploding its own bomb in the Sahara, and West Germany about to acquire nuclear weapons, the crucial question was: Will the U.S. continue to insist on a foolproof inspection system or, as Orear said, "have the courage to take the small risks involved" in a test ban treaty with an improved detection system as agreed upon by East-West scientists last month?

The President's Dec. 29 announcement and his criticism of the Soviet scientists' position in his Jan. 7 State of the Union message seemed to imply a continuing rigid position on a ban. If this is the case, the danger remains of nuclear annihilation precipitated by an intensified arms race and a wider distribution of nuclear weapons—even to unscrupulous and ambitious hands.

A JITTERY UN: Certainly there will be no disposition in the UN, which last year urged continued voluntary test suspension pending a Geneva accord, to excuse U.S. intransigence on the grounds of Soviet disagreement on the "big hole."

Many UN members are already jittery over the Pentagon's eagerness to resume tests immediately, and the demand of Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee chairman Sen. Clinton Anderson (D-N.M.) for a still blunter approach to Moscow. A New York **Post** editorial (Dec. 31, '59) reflected the UN fears:

"Our past showing in the quest for a sane nuclear policy is hardly calculated to warrant confidence in Washington's warmed-over brinkmanship."

VOICES OF SANITY: Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) has cautioned against resuming U.S. tests and recommended at least a partial East-West test ban agreement while inspection systems were improved.

The Natl. Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy described the British decision to continue the test moratorium as long as East-West talks go on "as a more useful one." Since a "flawless" inspection system would seem to be unattainable, SANE has urged a treaty which would (1) establish the principle of mutual inspection; (2) result in installation of a degree of actual inspection from which lessons could be learned and precedents set; (3) give the world a "breathing spell" from the multiplication of nuclear powers and the drift toward nuclear war.

THE ONE BLOCK: The artificially created issue of detecting underground tests that are still theoretical and distant remains the one major obstacle to a test ban treaty, since the Geneva conference has already agreed to 17 of the treaty's 23 articles. The relaxation of tension that might follow the signing of such a treaty would also encourage greater East-West cooperation on space problems.

Both sides have accepted a UN committee on peaceful uses of outer space. And on Jan. 9 at Nice, France, both sides agreed to continue in the Committee on Space Research (COSPAR) the cooperation that marked the 1958 International Geophysical Year.

BOOKS

The isolation of the individual

DR. FRITZ PAPENHEIM'S **The Alienation of Modern Man*** is a flood of light on a storm-darkened landscape for the thinking Left. He might well have subtitled his book, "The Other Crisis of Capitalism."

Let the author's own words (illustrated in the frontispiece) describe the crisis of alienation:

"One of Goya's etchings shows a woman who, possessed by the superstition that the teeth of a hanged man can yield magic power, has sneaked up to a body dangling from a noose. Holding a piece of cloth between the corpse and her averted face, she is torn between horror and a determination to get hold of the invaluable teeth. . . .

"A recent photographic contest . . . rewarded . . . a photo which showed a traffic accident . . . and the pain-stricken face of one of the victims in the moment before death. . . .

"There seems to be an affinity between . . . the woman in Goya's etching and the photographer who, witnessing the pain of another human being, thinks only of using his camera. . . . Both of them are so absorbed in the relentless pursuit of their own interests that this pursuit shapes every phase of their encounter with reality. Nothing they experience has a meaning in itself; nothing counts for them unless it can be turned into a means for attaining their ends. Even death is not exempt. . . .

"We seem to be caught in a frightening contradiction. In order to assert ourselves as individuals, we relate only to those phases of reality which seem to promote the attainment of our objectives and we remain divorced from the rest of it. But the further we drive this separation, the deeper grows the rift within ourselves."

DR. PAPENHEIM OFFERS examples: the company wife who chooses her friends to promote her husband's career; the sail-trimming politician who forgets the principles which brought him into politics; the creative painter who winds up working for an advertising agency—all are cited to show how those who are estranged from what is real can no longer be themselves.

"The individual . . . does not always become aware of the estrangement from his own self or feel it as a disquieting experience. As a result of his detachment, the alienated man is often able to achieve great successes. These, as long as they continue, engender a certain numbness, which makes it hard for him to realize his own estrangement. Only in times of crisis does he start to sense it. . .

"Marx centered his early interpretation of the capitalist era upon the concept of self alienation, but the concept did not exercise . . . influence for any length of time, and it became almost forgotten in the period which followed; . . . now the years of continuing crisis have forced on our awareness the problem of human estrangement."

Dr. Papenheim thus points up for us the other crisis of capitalist society . . . the terrible cleavage which dehumanizes the social functioning of human beings.

HE LEAVES US in no doubt that, while the forces of alienation may be latent in social living as such, the crisis of alienation gathers momentum with the rise to dominance of the relations of commodity production; until today the prism of the market place has distorted every single facet of life and "individuals have become so separated and isolated that they establish contact only when they can use each other as means to particular ends; bonds between human beings are supplanted by useful associations, not of whole persons but of particularized individuals. . . ."

In sum: Man in his most human aspect, as creator and producer, is rendered inhuman by capitalist relationships. Dr. Papenheim comments: "A thesis which describes contemporary man's alienation as growing out of the basic structure and direction of modern society invites a disturbing conclusion. There is no short cut in our struggle against the forces of alienation. If we really want to triumph over them, we must accept the challenge to strive for a new foundation of society, for the development of economic and social institutions which will no longer be dominated by the commodity structure."

The author countenances also the problem of alienation in other than capitalist societies:

"The recent history of Hungary and other Eastern European countries offers tragic examples to make us aware that a social order which no longer is directed by the predominance of commodity production may well fall prey to the forces of alienation. . . . [But] only fools will expect that the emergence of a higher social order can produce its contribution to the fight against man's alienation without subjecting him to long periods of agony and pain."

HIS FINAL CHALLENGE is this: "Either we dare take the risk and strive for a new stage of human history . . . or we shrink back from the dangers which a transformation of the social order might engender. If we choose the latter course we must resign ourselves to living in a world in which the tendencies which separate man from his fellow man, from the life that surrounds him, even from himself, will continue unabated."

Dr. Papenheim, a scholar who fled Hitler Germany and has been a teacher in this country for many years, offers his thesis at a historically critical time, when mankind seems to be on the threshold of eliminating material want, under whatever social system. For Marxists in advanced capitalist countries, his work underscores the choice between struggle and drift; and brings to the fore an area of renewed activity for people brought to a standstill in the area of economic struggle: the task of counteracting the alienation of modern man.—**Larry Thor**

* *THE ALIENATION OF MODERN MAN, by Fritz Papenheim, Ph. D. Monthly Review Press, 333 Sixth Ave., N. Y. 14. $4.*

SELF-INTEREST CONQUERS HORROR
Goya's etching defines alienation

Irritation in a red warehouse

THE UNITED STATES itself was partly responsible for Soviet attempts to censor the American book exhibit at last summer's exhibition in Moscow, according to its American general manager. The official is Harold C. McClellan, who . . . spoke yesterday at the Congress of American Industry held by the National Association of Manufacturers at the Waldorf-Astoria.

He said that the books for the exhibit had been selected in accordance with a policy that he had had a part in formulating. "One set somehow slipped in which should never have gotten in," he said. "These books were in the Russian language and their burden was to teach the readers how to organize to defeat communism within their own country."

He said that the Russians had discovered these books in a warehouse before the Americans had and "naturally were irritated, to say the least."

—New York **Times**, Dec. 3, 1959

PUBLICATIONS

SOVIET HIGHLIGHTS

A Survey of Soviet Thought and Developments

In the January Issue

OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEVELOPING SOVIET - AMERICAN TRADE, by D. Kostyukhin. The history of U.S.-Soviet trade and analysis of the current situation.

A DISCUSSION OF SOVIET CEREMONIES

RADIOELECTRONICS IN MEDICINE, by Academician V. V. Parin, Secretary, U.S.S.R. Academy of Medical Sciences. The use of electronic computers in diagnosis and other developments in medical electronics.

THOUGHTLESS, SCIENTIFIC SENSATIONALISM, by L. Artsimovitch, P. Kapitsa and I. Tamm, Members of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Three outstanding physicists take issue with slipshod thinking in popular science writing.

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Portland programs

A SERIES of Sunday evening programs have been announced by the Oregon Chapter of the Methodist Federation for Social Action for January and the late winter and spring. The programs will be presented at 1910 N.E. Davis St., Portland, and will include coffee at 6 p.m., worship services at 6:30, and the program and discussion period from 7 to 8:30.

Jan. 17 the CBS documentary film on the life of Mahatma Gandhi will be shown, and the evening of Jan. 24 will be devoted to issues of the Portland newspaper strike.

Other speakers for the balance of the season will be Dr. Scott Nearing, Dr. Annette Rubinstein, Dr. Du Bois and Shirley Graham (tentative), Dr. Jerome Davis and Dr. Stephen Fritchman. Further information can be obtained by writing the Chapter headquarters at P.O. Box 327, Gresham, Oregon.

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Legislative oversight

CHICAGO, ILL.

A mailbag correspondent Dec. 14 asks every progressive to support the McCurtin bill to change limitations from $1,200 to $2,400 on earnings of Social Security recipients, but fails to ask support for the 24 bills to provide hospitalization, nursing home care, medical and surgical service for the retired. Organized medicine is opposed. **J. Biel**

LOS ANGELES

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State of Union

(Continued from Page 1)

disarmament proposals with the phrase "if these pronouncements be genuine." He also warned against being "misled by pleasant promises until they are tested by performance," and criticized statements of Soviet scientists at the Geneva nucelar test ban conference as being "politically guided." (See Goshal, p. 1).

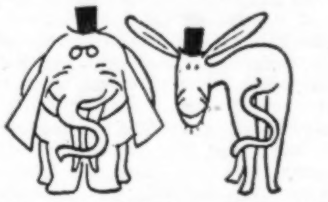
NO ARMS CUT: The President proposed no reduction in the $41 billion military budget. He boasted of our great military power, our missiles, our nuclear submarines ("sentinels for peace . . . capable of accurate fire on targets virtually anywhere on earth"), and our armed forces deployed "beyond our shores."

Thus, while there was a seeming ambivalence in the President's message on the cold war, the net balance was on the side of peace. James Reston in the New York **Times** (Jan. 8) wrote: "For every implied warning, however, the President added an assurance that his fondest hope was for greater understanding through negotiation, and he left the impression that it was his intention to concentrate in the last year of his stewardship on his search for what he called a 'guaranteed peace'."

FOREIGN AID: One-fifth of the President's message dealt with foreign aid. The impact of his recent 11-nation trip was reflected in his emphasis on the need for helping "uncommitted and newly emerging nations" to progress from the "ox cart to the jet plane." Also reflected was his concern over growing competition of socialist foreign aid; he warned that needy nations "must not, by our neglect, be forced to seek help from, and finally become virtual satellities of, those who proclaim their hostility to freedom."

The President has learned that nations other than the U.S. are at least relatively rich these days, so he made a major point of stressing the obligation of prosperous Western European nations and Japan to help the underdeveloped countries.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS: On the home front the Eisenhower bill of fare was



mighty slim. Inflation alone seemed really to arouse the President, and his solution appears to be simply to limit Federal spending for social welfare purposes. Generally the President spoke as if he wished the "nagging" domestic problems would just fly away, or that somebody else would take them over.

Rather smugly he said that "1960 promises to be the most prosperous year in our history." (In the section on foreign aid the President warned of the danger of America becoming soft through self-indulgence in "material ease and comfort.") This rosy prediction seemed in the President's mind to have reduced all our areas of domestic economic need—the millions of jobless, the tens of millions who live in poverty, our extensive slums, our needy aged, those burdened with illness, etc.—into simple national itches which will go away if not scratched.

FARM PROBLEMS: The President read a little essay on the existing "out of date, ineffective, and expensive" farm legislation. He proposed no specific legislation, but asked Congress to do something.

LABOR LEGISLATION: It is clear the Administration is not seeking additional labor legislation now that the steel strike threat is over. The President merely suggested "regular discussions between management and labor outside the bargaining table." The **Wall Street Journal** (Jan. 8) complained: "Only a law aimed at reducing the monopoly power of labor union leaders can hope to curb nationwide strikes. . . . Mr. Eisenhower would have done well to tell Congress so."

CIVIL RIGHTS: With civil rights the first live issue before Congress, the President's vague generalities about the right to vote were especially inadequate. "Serious consideration" of the limited proposals already put forth by the President and his Civil Rights Commission was requested. A Senate hearing has been scheduled to learn where the Administration really stands.

CIVIL LIBERTIES: A significant series of bills undercutting the recent pro-civil liberties decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court are far advanced in Congress. However, the President failed to mention this subject, even in a general way.

AID TO EDUCATION: The President pointed out the needs confronting our educational system and then abandoned the problem by denying Federal responsibility.

Generally, social welfare legislation was not mentioned. Nothing was said about social security, changes in the minimum wage and hour law, unempolyment compensation, medical care of the aged, aid to distressed areas, housing, or tax reform. The subject of unemployment was not recognized. On these items, as on education, the President's concern is for a balanced budget and states rights rather than Federal action.

THE REACTION: The response to the President's message was mild. As expected, the Republicans hailed it. In a typical profound and searching Republican comment, Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen said: "It was a great message from a big man with a big heart."

The Washington **Post** called the message an "uninspiring affair," The Republican New York **Herald Tribune** crowned the message as "essentially a conservative program." The **Wall Street Journal** grumbled a little and the New York **Post** described it as a "blueprint for dynamic inertia."

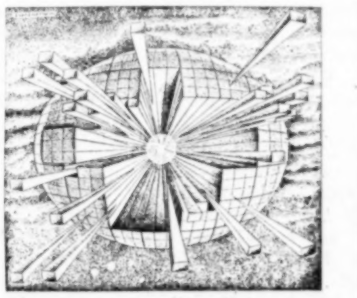
The Democrats didn't seem to know what to say. Their main complaint, as voiced by Senators John F. Kennedy, Stuart Symington, and Richard B. Russell for example, was aimed at the President's optimistic account of our missile and military strength. Senators Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert H. Humphrey complained because the President made a pitch for an end to the wrangling between the White House and Congress. The Southerners didn't like the vague generalities about civil rights.

New York **Times** reporter John D. Morris observed (Jan. 10) that Congress was "in a surprisingly languid mood," and that the Washington scene is "dominated not by bold and imaginative Democrats intent upon seizing the political initiative but by a Republican President chanting peace, prosperity and fiscal responsibility."

It was an accurate description of the state of American leadership in a critical election year.

PUBLICATIONS

Co-Centering As The Basis Of World Order And Stability



CO-EXISTENCE is not enough . . . CO-CENTERING (symbolized by the pyramid on the U.S. dollar bill) is the key. Many will say, "How can social, economic and political order and stability be established when no two individuals are alike in skills, knowledge, development, planning and living of their lives?" Neither cells and organs in the human body, nor parts of an automobile are alike in form or function. Yet, all these differing parts have become successfully combined to form structurally complete bodies and machines which in turn manifest functional life.

How is the unification of the parts achieved so that they function without interference and contribute to wholeness of the structure of which each is an integrated part? Cells and organs in human bodies and machine parts are CO-CENTERED into complete units in order to fulfill the combined purpose of its various parts.

How does CO-CENTERING apply to individual and national problems? Although we are individualized units of earth life, we do not as yet CO-CENTER and direct our activities to its over-all purpose. We determine right or wrong largely according to our personal feelings and gains. When any situation arises one usually will say, "This is the right way to solve it," while another counters, "No, this is right" . . . and neither is willing nor able to yield. Invariably, opposing proposals when properly CO-CENTERED become more effective than either alone. In the CO-CENTERED living we will aim and lean neither to the right nor to the left, but directly to the world's central purpose.

As we CO-CENTER—clear—our plans and efforts first through the earth's central purpose, many technical and scientific achievements will become fully useful and meaningful, and we will realize vastly greater effectiveness, satisfaction and benefits from living. We will then experience true freedom in the exercise of our initiative . . . without hindrance we will proceed to carry social, economic and political problems and our life plans to their individual, national and world-wide completion. It is time to begin CO-CENTERING our actvities at the individual and national level. In this way every one can add to the economic soundness, to the greatness and wholeness of the human race.

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29-30 St. Louis
31- 1 Denver

FEBRUARY
2- 3 Phoenix
4- 5 San Diego
6-21 Los Angeles
22-28 San Fr'cisco

MARCH
Portland (Feb.29-Mar. 2)
3- 4 Seattle
5- 8 Vancouver
9-10 Twin Cities
11 Madison
12-13 Des Moines
14-18 Chicago
19-21 Detroit
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—Current Questions (Aptheker)
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—Marxist Principles (Collins)
—Human Freedom (Aptheker)

TUESDAYS
6:45—Human History (H. Klein)
—1960 Elections (E. Cantor)
—Socialist Trends (Albertson)
8:30—Intro. to Marxism (H. Klein)
—Labor Problems (Weinstock)
—Pub. Speaking (E. G. Flynn)

WEDNESDAYS
2:00—Eco. of Capitalism (Collins)
6:45—Intro. to Marxism (Collins)
—Dialectics & Arts (Finkelstein)
—American State (H. Lumer)
8:30—Coexistence (V. Perlo)
—Negro Lib'n M't (Bassett)

THURSDAYS
6:45—Eco. of Capitalism (Gannett)
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"OUTLOOK FOR 1960"
Speaker: **GUS HALL,** Gen. Secy. C.P. U.S.A. Sat., Feb. 6, 8 p.m., at 32 W. Randolph St., Hall B-2, 10th floor.
Entertainment. Adm. at door $1.
Ausp: Freedom of the Press Committee.
All Welcome!

DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN speaks Sun., Jan. 24, 7 p.m., "Shakespeare, Sputnik and Original Sin," at Lewis', 1508 Juneway. Sponsor: Cardoza Cultural Club. Discussion, refreshments. Contribution $1.25.

Chi. Coun. of American-Soviet Friendship **ANNUAL MEETING.** Help us plan 1960 program. Mandel Terman reports. LeRoy Wolins shows NEW PROGRAM OF SLIDES on European Russia. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:45 p.m., 32 W. Randolph, Hall A-3. Members free, others $1.00.
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DETROIT

DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN speaks on "Poetry, Politics & the Class Struggle," Fri., Jan. 22, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.

LOS ANGELES

FARRELL DOBBS, National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party, on national tour, will speak on **"LABOR'S ROLE IN THE 1960 ELECTIONS,"** Sat., Jan. 23, 8:15 p.m., 1702 E. 4th St. Don: 75c. AN 9-4953. Questions and discussion. Social to follow. Ausp: :Socialist Workers Party.

OAKLAND

SCOTT NEARING
speaks on "UNITED WORLD" at Jenny Lind Hall, 2269 Telegraph Av., Oakland, Calif., on Sun., Jan. 31, at 7:30 p.m. Don. $1. Benefit National Guardian.

SAN FRANCISCO

SCOTT NEARING—Speaking Sat., Feb. 6, 8 p.m., on **"THE SOVIET UNION SINCE SPUTNIK,"** 150 Golden Gate Av. Ausp: American-Russian Institute.

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Sat., Jan. 30th, from 1 to 6 p.m.
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- **VICTOR PERLO,**
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  "The Empire of High Finance"
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  Education Secretary, CPUSA
  author, "War Economy & Crisis"

Papers will be read from:
- **JURGEN KUCZYNSKI,**
  world-famous Marxist economist,
  German Academy of Sciences
- **GEORGE WHEELER,**
  Correspondent in Czechoslovakia,
  Guardian & New World Review
- **JOSEPH GILLMAN,**
  economist and author,
  "The Falling Rate of Profit"

The Conference will be held in Rm. 10-D, Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Av.
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Thurs., Jan. 21, 8:15 p.m.
"China Today—As I Saw It Myself." An eye-witness account, with dozens of colored slides, taken during a recent 3-month stay.
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(Note: This lecture is being repeated in response to many requests, as the opening session in the Winter Term lecture-series, "The World Today.")
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Fri., Jan. 22, 8:15 p.m.
"After The Steel Strike Settlement—What Next for U. S. Labor?"
GEORGE MORRIS, Labor Editor, "The Worker"
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"What's Behind New Anti-Semitic Outbreaks?" **SIDNEY GLUCK,** prominent Jewish lecturer, will speak Fri., Jan. 22, 8 p.m., New York Intercultural Society, 111 W. 48th St. (top floor). Discussion, social, refreshments. Contribution $1.

GALA CULTURAL FREEDOM PARTY
Sat., Jan. 23, 9 p.m. Folksinging, dancing, surprises. New York Intercultural Society, 111 W. 48th St. (top floor). Contribution $1.

DR. HY LUMER, economist and author, speaks on "Perspectives for 1960," Sun., Jan. 24, 7:30 p.m. at Parkway Plaza, 1110 Eastern Parkway, B'klyn. Ausp: Crown Heights Forum. Cont. $1.

METROPOLITAN FRATERNAL CLUB MEETS!
FRI., JAN. 15, 8:45 p.m. Prize film—Discussion—Refreshments. Guests Invited. No admission fee. Adelphi Hall, 74—5th Av., Room 11-D.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.
Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 197 East 4th Street, New York 9, N.Y.

ANTI-SEMITIC FLARE-UPS
Who is responsible?
What can be done?
HEAR: **HARRY RING,** staff writer for **"The Militant,"** Fri., Jan. 15, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Pl. Cont. 50c.
Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ANNIVERSARY BANQUET
Smorgasbord, refreshments, entertainment, dancing. Speakers: Conrad Lynn, civil rights att'y; George Lavan, "The Militant": Jim Lambrecht, "Young Socialist." Chairman: Tim Wohlforth. Sun., Jan. 17, 4 p.m. Dinner, 5 p.m., 116 University Pl. (cor. 13th St.) Don. $1.25. Ausp: Young Socialists Alliance.

"ENJOY A MEXICAN VACATION"
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THE GALLERY

LONDON PSYCHIATRIST Dr. Sidney Bochner reported last week that he had just about cured a patient of an odd anti-social habit: the man used to bark. At first, the patient told the doctor, the barking was only occasional. But two years ago he started to bark uncontrollably at ten-minute intervals. When his boss fired him for barking, the man went to Dr. Bochner. The psychiatrist prescribed a tranquilizer and after six months the man barks only now and again. Dr. Bochner attributed the ailment to the fact that the man, now 65, was forced by a teacher in grade school to write with his right hand, although he is naturally left-handed. . . . When Finance Minister Viggo Kampmann walked on the floor and began shaking hands with basketball players before a game in Copenhagen, Norway, the 6,000 spectators chanted to the athletes: "Count your fingers! Count your fingers! Count your fingers!". . . The Astoria, N.Y., Catholic War Veterans asked American consumers to boycott goods from "behind the Iron Curtain." As a guide they listed these "communist" countries: "Russia, Albania, Czechoslovakia, E. Germany, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Danzig, Communist China, North Korea, Outer Mongolia, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.". . . AFL-CIO inter-American representative Serafino Romualdi advised U. S. businessmen investing in Latin America to "give to your capital a social dynamism—give it a mission." The mission he suggested was a campaign "designed to prove . . . the greater claimed efficiency of private management." He said U.S. businessmen's policy of supporting dictators was paving the way for eventual communist governments in Latin America. If his policy had been followed, he said, "we would not have today the Castro communist-dominated regime in Cuba."

THEY SNICKERED when Patrick Pesce paid $1 for a copy of **Sex Life of a Cop** at a New York bookshop although the cover said 35 cents; they didn't know he was a vice cop. After he bought the book, Pesce ran around the corner where he huddled with five other policemen while they read the book to make sure it was "genuinely pornographic." When they were finished, they went back to the store and arrested the owners for selling dirty books. The book's cover carried a picture of a fat man in shorts and purple slippers standing beside a car. Behind him was a nude woman. And two policemen stood to the side, shining flashlights on the couple. The caption read: "This was no ordinary necking party they'd broken up. Before them stood their enraged boss, the chief of police, and some woman.". . . Macon Theater in Tuskegee, Ala., reopened Jan. 9 after being closed for two years. The theater locked its doors in 1957 after Negroes instituted a boycott against white merchants in protest to a local law which changed the city boundaries as a device to keep Negroes from voting. James Irvin bought the movie recently and the reopened theater represents the ultimate in the "separate but equal" doctrine. The theater is divided in half by a ceiling-to-floor partition. There are two screens, ticket offices, entrances and concession stands. Negroes will operate the projectors in one half, whites in the other. The theater is the only white movie in the county where Negroes outnumber whites.

London Daily Mirror
"Indigestion, heartburn, flatulence, overweight—and you ENVY them?"

THE BRITISH PRESS selected the following as the "Quotations of the Year, 1959":

"To be alive at all involves some risk."—Prime Minister Macmillan.

"We are not the kind of people we have been pictured. We do not gobble up babies."—Premier Khrushchev.

"I think I am the first honest man Mr. Khrushchev has ever met."—Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery.

"A thick skin is a gift from God."—Chancellor Adenauer.

"We must be prepared during the years ahead to live in a world in which tension and bickering between free nations and the Soviet will be a daily experience."—President Eisenhower.

"Don't be afraid of having many children. This world has not been created to be a cemetery."—Pope John XXIII.

"I feel sorry for men. They have more problems than women. In the first place they have to compete with women."—Francoise Sagan.

"I have had very little experience of self-government. In fact, I am one of the most governed people in the world."—Prince Philip, husband of Queen Elizabeth II of England.

"If we continue at this leisurely pace, we will have to pass Russian customs when we land on the moon."—Wernher von Braun.

"The Martians have nothing to fear from Britain."—Lord Hailsham, Minister of Science.

—Robert E. Light

Thanks, Mac

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA
I don't want to be without your splendid little paper each week and so I am sending along this renewal. **Menzie MacTavish**

Fair warning

NEW YORK, N.Y.
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Again From France, a New List of

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Jazz

Some purists hold that no real jazz has been played since 1928. Others would stretch the date a few years. And still others favor the modern "cool" music. But all who enjoy jazz agree that the music Louis Armstrong played and sang in 1926-1931 is as creative as any ever performed by an American musician.

Although Armstrong's proper place as a serious musician is not yet fully acknowledged here, Europeans have long appreciated his work. It is not surprising, therefore, that his "golden years" of recording should be available on French labels, while they are out of print in the U.S.

Below are four LP albums by Odeon; better jazz has never been recorded. Even if you have some of these numbers on 78 rpm records, these LPs are a worthwhile convenience.

OS 143-144. ARMSTRONG FOREVER. An album of two 12" records, comprising 34 tunes recorded 1926-1931 by Armstrong with several groups including the Hot Five and the Hot Seven $11.90

OS 1036. LOUIS ARMSTRONG AND HIS HOT FIVE. Eight classics recorded in 1926. 10" $4.95

OS 1080. LOUIS ARMSTRONG AND HIS ORCHESTRA. Eight classics recorded in 1929. 10" $4.95

OS 1081. LOUIS ARMSTRONG AND HIS ORCHESTRA. Eight classics recorded in 1930-1931. 10"........$4.95

Although people around the world have tried to play jazz, almost no one outside the United States has ever been successful. One happy exception is the legendary guitarist, Django Reinhart. Unfortunately, relatively little of his music is available on records. What there is should be cherished by every lover of jazz.

The album below was recorded in France, 1939-1945, and offers Reinhart with a variety of accompaniment, including a large band and several small groups made up of members of the Quintet of the Hot Club of France.

ST 1012. DJANGO REINHART. Ten numbers. 10" $4.95

Folk and popular songs of France

YVES MONTAND might be called a Gallic combination of Pete Seeger, Frank Sinatra and Harry Belafonte. He sings folk songs, music hall numbers and ballads. To enhance his very fine voice, he has poise, good humor and s-e-x. Hollywood is about to "discover" him—and he is just signed for a movie—and he is likely to become the rage soon. Below are 11 albums covering his range of work. Some were recorded during his one-man show which ran for six months in Paris in 1958. Others are his earlier work.

OSX 101-102. YVES MONTAND RECITAL. Two 12" records made at Theatre de l'Etoile. 25 songs and recitations $11.90

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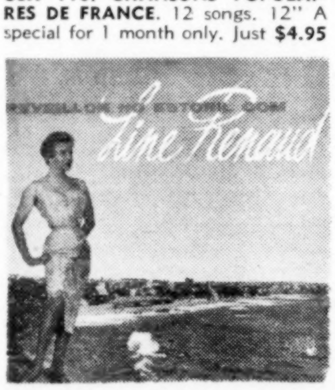

OSX 148. CHANSONS DE PARIS. 16 songs. 12" $5.95

OSX 136. CHANSONS POUR L'ETE. 10 songs. 12" $5.95

OS 1001. YVES MONTAND SINGS. 10 songs. 10". Special $3.95

OS 1004. YVES MONTAND CHANTE PARIS. 8 songs. 10". Spc. $3.95

OS 1007. YVES MONTAND SINGS HIS LATEST SONGS. 8 songs, 10". Special $3.95

OS 1042. YVES MONTAND SINGS HIS LATEST HITS. 8 songs. 10" Special $3.95

OS 1085. YVES MONTAND. 8 songs. 10". Special $3.95

OS 1152. TREIZE ANS DEJA! 8 songs. 10". Special $3.95

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OS 1108. MISTINGUETT AU CASINO DE PARIS. 10 songs. 10" $4.95

AT 1014. TINO ROSSI CHANTE LA BELLE EPOQUE. 8 songs. 10" $4.95

Below are three albums by the popular chanteuse, Line Renaud:

ATX 115. LINE RENAUD CHANTE 14 BELLE CHANSONS. 12" $5.95

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AT 1099. LINE RENAUD AU MOULIN ROUGE. 9 songs. 10" $4.95

Marie-Josee Neuville is a refreshing young folk singer who would be a hit at any American hootenanny.

ATX 122. SUR DEUX NATTES. With guitar accompaniment. 14 songs. 12" $5.95

An original cast album of the French musical, PACIFICO, starring balladeer Georges Guetary and comedian Bouvril.

ATX 133. PACIFICO. 12" $5.95

AT 1118. A TREASURY OF SONGS, featuring seven top French vocalists singing ten top hits: Ciao, Ciao Bambina (Georges Guetary); La Marche Des Copains (Bouvril), etc. 12" LP $4.95

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the SPECTATOR

Willie Reid's choice

SOMETIMES THE ONLY decisions left to men are hard ones. When the sure chances and the easy choices are used up, sometimes there's nothing to do but go with the lesser of evils.

That's the way it was with Willie Reid. Not that his choices had ever been easy. He was poor; he was Negro; he was an itinerant citrus worker in the Florida fields. After a week's hard work he could nurse his pittance and attempt the improbable: to build a nest egg through thrift; or he could risk it for more in Saturday night gambling. He chose the games.

In 1950 a fight over a $2 bet landed him in the hands of Lake County Sheriff Willis V. McCall, a notorious Negro-killer, and onto a chain gang. The judge gave him 15 years for "assault with intent to murder." Later his attorneys were to argue before governors and jurists that had Reid been properly tried and represented by counsel, he could not have received more than one year for aggravated assault—nicking his card-playing adversary in the hand with a knife.

AFTER ALMOST TWO YEARS on the chain gang Reid had to make another choice. Working as a truck driver, he had observed the guards clearing timber off private plantation lands for sale to sawmills. When state investigators came from Tallahassee tc look into the racket, Reid was called to testify. He says he didn't inform on the guards but that they believed he did. In any case, life became unbearable and death only a matter of time.

"They let me know," he later told Ted Poston, New York **Post** reporter who broke his story and befriended him, "[that] I was dead already. But they weren't going to make it easy. I spent weeks, one time almost a month, in the sweatbox under the broiling sun, and they cooked me to a cinder."

The guards played a cat-and-mouse game with their victims. They'd order a prisoner to "pick up that shovel I stuck in the ground." And then, said Reid, "they laugh as you brace your shoulders. But they know and you know that when they finally get tired of playing, you're going to get it—right between the shoulder blades."

REID DIDN'T WAIT for the guards to tire of their game. The first chance he got he took to the swamps, chains and all, and somehow made it to New York. For three years he worked and saved and lived the obscure, fear-ridden life of a fugitive. Then, one day in 1955, the authorities picked him up on a tip from the FBI. The next day Gov. Harriman signed an extradiction writ and the private ordeal of Willie Reid became a public concern.

For five years Reid was in and out of jail, awaiting extradition while his lawyers and supporters urged the governor to withdraw the order or appealed to state and Federal courts to vacate it.

But the courts, without exception and including the U.S. Supreme Court, ruled that the fugitive had come to the wrong place, that he must take his appeal to the state tribunals of Florida.

Reid's last legal recourse was Harriman's successor, Gov. Rockefeller. Two months ago, free on $2,000 bond provided by the NAACP and awaiting Rockefeller's decision, he sat with Ted Poston and talked about his future.

"I know how it'll happen," he said. "Gov. Collins will tell Gov. Rockefeller that he'll look out for me. He'll say he'll never let Sheriff McCall get his hands on me again. They'll both believe it because they got to. Even good white folks don't like to admit how bad other white folks can be."

REID'S MIND was made up. He was thankful for all that people had done for him, but he told Poston that "if they order me back to Florida, I just ain't going—one way or another." He just wanted the good people to understand why.

"Look," he said, "I was there for two long years. And I saw it happen with my own eyes. Six of them got away before me. And all six was brought back. And not one of them was living when I hauled out of there."

On Jan. 5 in the New York Court of General Sessions a clerk intoned the name of Willie Reid. There was no response and the judge ordered the name called out three times. Still no response. The judge ruled that the fugitive from Florida had also become a fugitive from New York.

Willie Reid had made the latest of a long series of hard choices: perpetual flight rather than certain death. If the "good folks" about whom he was so concerned really understand, some day they may raise enough fuss to restore him to normal life and to abolish the Southern chain gangs which make the recurrence of Willie Reid cases inevitable.

—**Louis E. Burnham**

Bull

ERWIN, TENN.

In the olden times, crows' dung was specified by Pope Gregory the Great as the best material for filling teeth. We know better now. In 1959, the Supreme Court of our land prescribed prison bars for Lloyd Barenblatt, Willard Uphaus and other fine and courageous citizens. Some day our descendants will respect our generation's messy mandates and misjudgments as much as the dentists now respect papa Gregory's dental bull. **Ernest Seeman**